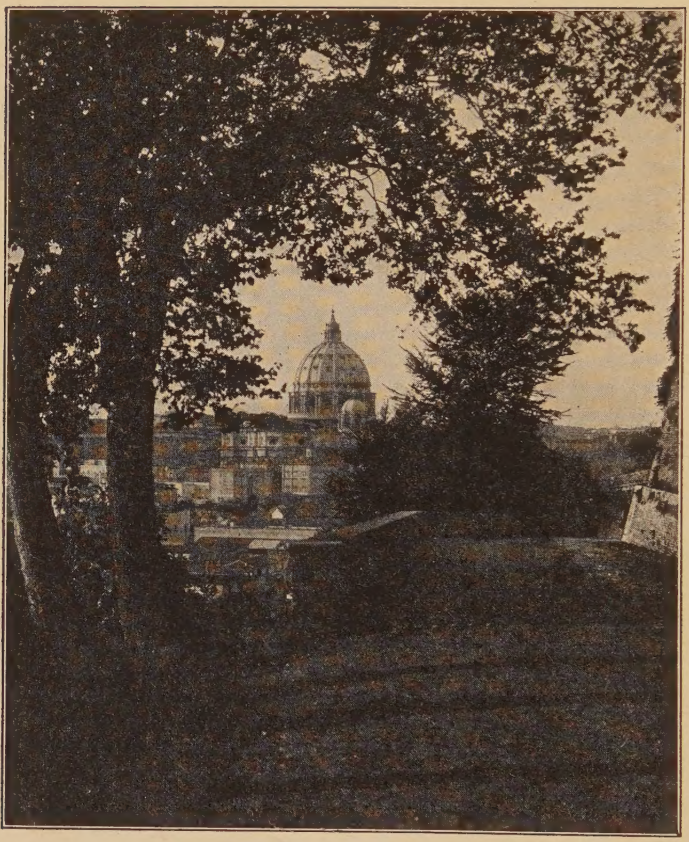
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

BETTEN



St. Peter's, Rome

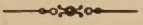
ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

FROM THE ORIGIN OF THE HUMAN RACE TO THE END OF THE RELIGIOUS UNITY OF EUROPE

BY

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY, MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN



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PREFACE

It is a pleasant duty to express sincere appreciation for the reception accorded to the Betten-Kaufmann textbooks, *The Ancient World* and *The Modern World,* in so many schools from coast to coast in the United States and in several countries beyond the seas. The authors feel a special satisfaction in a letter of congratulation received from His Eminence William Cardinal O'Connell, Archbishop of Boston, to whom in this place also they wish to return their humble thanks for this act of kind encouragement.

The time-honored and well founded division of history is into *ancient, medieval,* and *modern,* the medieval period comprising "the great thousand years" from the fifth to the end of the fifteenth century, the time when the one Catholic religion ruled the lives of states as well as of individuals. The arrangement adopted for *The Ancient World* and *The Modern World* made necessary a splitting-up of the Middle Ages. The account of the first part of them, ending with the reign of Charlemagne, was added to ancient history proper, and with it formed *The Ancient World;* the account of the second half was combined with modern history proper, and with it made up *The Modern World.* This was what many schools desired, and what many still prefer to any other arrangement. These two textbooks, *The Ancient World* and *The Modern World,* will continue to appear as heretofore.

The present edition differs from the authors' previous books in that it represents an arrangement which returns to the older division of history. This volume combines the whole of both ancient history and medieval history, each part being calculated

to furnish the matter for half a school year. Another volume, by Alfred Kaufmann, S.J., will be devoted entirely to modern history, which of late has begun to make greater demands upon the time available for history in many schools.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

ABBREVIATIONS FREQUENTLY USED

A. W. — *The Ancient World* by Francis S. Betten, S.J.

M. W. — *The Modern World* by Francis S. Betten, S.J., and Alfred Kaufmann, S.J.

D. R. — Davis's *Readings in Ancient History*

B. S. — Botsford's *Source Book of Ancient History*

H. T. F. — Betten's *Historical Terms and Facts*

O. S. M. — Ogg's *Source Book of Medieval History*

Guggenberger — Guggenberger's *History of the Christian Era*

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INTRODUCTION

Historical Sources. — The student learns of the many events and facts which make up the history of mankind from the historical books written and published in our own time. But how do the authors of these books know what happened centuries ago? They consult what we call the *sources of history.* There are three kinds of such sources:

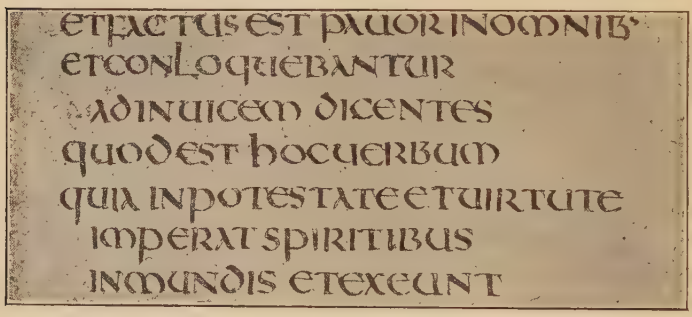
(1) *Oral Traditions.* — The stories of happenings of the past, if handed down for a considerable time by word of mouth only, are called oral traditions. These stories tell of the deeds of prominent men, both good and bad, or of the beginnings and vicissitudes of nations, and frequently they relate to matters of religion. Many, perhaps the greatest part of them, have undergone changes in the course of time and have become more or less fabulous. But historians often discover even in these a certain amount of truth, though it may be obscured by legendary fictions.

(2) *Relics.* — By relics we understand the weapons, tools, household utensils, articles of ornament, etc., which were used by men of former ages; also their works of art, the ruins of their buildings, the very remains of their dead buried in simple graves or elaborate mausoleums; finally the pictorial representations in painting and sculpture.

(3) *Written Records.* — Inscriptions and especially manuscript or printed books, coming from persons who are both able and willing to tell the truth. It does not matter whether or not the author lived at the time the events he describes took place, provided it is known that he had reliable information.

The Bible. — The noblest of all the written records concerning the history of mankind is the Bible. God, Himself, is the

author of this Book of Books; those whom we call the authors of its various parts acted, as it were, only as God's secretaries. They wrote down what God "inspired" them to write. The knowledge of the various facts and truths they obtained partly by direct revelation from God, partly by studying natural sources, such as books and reliable traditions. (The Bible is not the oldest book in the world.) In this study, too, they were guided



FACSIMILE FROM THE CODEX AMIATINUS OF THE LATIN BIBLE

The Latin reads: *Et factus est pavor in omnib(us), et conloquebantur ad invicem dicentes, "Quod est hoc verbum, quia in potestate et virtute imperat spiritibus inmundis, et exeunt."* Luke IV, 36. (Most of the ancient handwritten books have no punctuation marks.)

"And there came fear upon all, and they talked among themselves saying, 'What word is this, for with authority and power he commandeth the unclean spirits, and they go out?'"

Ancient manuscript (handwritten) copies of important books are called "codices." They commonly have no punctuation marks. The Codex Amiatinus was originally preserved in the Italian abbey of Amiatae. It is now in a library of Florence, Italy. It was written in England about 700 A.D., though some think that it is older.

by the Holy Ghost, and God put the seal of His authorship upon whatever they actually embodied in their work. There can be no errors in matters of faith and morals in the Bible. It is possible that there are errors concerning secular matters, such as astronomy. In these points the writers received no revelation from God. Copyists, too, may have made mistakes in tran-

scribing these things. Such errors are naturally very rare, if there are any at all. The Bible is recognized to be a most reliable source of secular history. The Bible treats chiefly of the development, successes, and failures of the chosen people of God, the Hebrews. But it is full of references to other nations and their rulers.

Evolution, often spoken of in our days, is the theory which teaches that, under the influence of heat or cold or electricity or other natural forces, things can undergo various changes in the course of time; that, for instance, because of their surroundings, plants or animals have actually become different from what they were before, without, however, ceasing to be either plants or animals. We need not deny that such "evolution" has taken place in many cases. But those who maintain that lifeless matter can change into plants or plants into animals have no proof for their assertion. Much less can man, body and soul, have "evolved" from beasts. Holy Scripture tells us how the first men were created by Almighty God. It is wrong, too, to suppose that the first men were savages with rude, undeveloped minds, and that their descendants gradually rose to what man now is in the course of hundreds of thousands of years.

Civilization. — We live in a civilized country. We have good houses, build beautiful churches and schools and splendid cities, and a good government preserves order in the land. A farming class tills the soil and thereby provides food for the whole population. Other peoples live a different life. Their dwellings are the rudest kind of huts or tents, or even caverns in the ground. Such peoples we say are not civilized at all, or at any rate, they are on the lowest level of civilization.

We speak of *material* civilization, by which we mean the control and employment of nature, its treasures and its forces, as the fruits of the earth, the metals, wind, fire, water, electricity. *Intellectual* civilization stands higher; it shows itself in the pursuit of learning and all kinds of art. There is also a *social* civilization; it consists in good government, in a certain refinement of

manners, and above all in the integrity of family life, which is the natural foundation of society. But higher than all these is *religious and moral* civilization. Individual man as well as the whole race must pay due respect to the Creator, and observe the laws which God has given. A nation which is wanting in this lacks the most necessary element in true civilization. These sundry elements, however, are not separated from one another by hard and fast lines. Many features of a nation's life may be classed under several of them.

The term *savagery* is often used to denote the lowest degree of civilization, while by *barbarism* is meant a somewhat higher degree. Care is required in using them. They are frequently meant to denote not only rude material conditions, but also intellectual inferiority, and even a low standing of morality. Yet a primitive people may display a keen intellect and possess great purity of morals and correct religious ideas.

DIVISION OF THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

I. Ancient history tells us first of the most remote times of mankind before and after the Deluge; then of the so-called Oriental nations; and finally of the Greeks and the Romans. Among the Oriental nations are those peoples whose history we can trace back the furthest into the past, namely, the Egyptians and Babylonians. They lived in the Orient, that is, east of Europe. (See *H. T. F.*, "Orient and Occident.") They were the first civilized men of whom we have any clear and definite knowledge. Many of their achievements are still benefiting the human race. Some other nations who lived in the same part of the world must also be mentioned. Chief among them is the small race of the *Hebrews*, which preserved for mankind the knowledge of the One True God. Otherwise the *Greeks* and the *Romans* occupy the widest space in ancient history. To them we are indebted for a very great part of the civilization we possess.

II. Medieval history begins with the coming into power of Christianity, the religion of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. After being persecuted for three centuries, this Catholic religion gained public recognition, and began to exert its supernatural power in the life of the world. New nations, too, appeared on the scene. A time vastly different from the former ages took its beginning. It lasted about a thousand years, *from the fifth century until about 1500* A.D. Its name, medieval (*medius*, middle; *aevum*, period — *Middle Ages*), comes from the fact that it is in the middle between the ancient and modern time.

III. Modern history, in the strict sense of the word, begins about 1500 A.D. It will be treated in another work.

BOOK ONE

ANCIENT HISTORY

PART ONE: THE MOST REMOTE TIMES OF MANKIND

CHAPTER I

FROM THE CREATION TO THE DELUGE

1. The First Men. — " In the beginning God created heaven and earth." In six periods called " days," He prepared the earth further to be a fit dwelling place for man. Then " God formed man of the slime of the earth and breathed into his face the breath of life, and man became a living soul." Man thus came directly from the hands of his Creator, endowed with perfect faculties of body and soul, and with a wonderful knowledge of the natural things which surrounded him. To make Adam the true fountainhead of mankind, the first woman, Eve, was created from his body. She was to be his " helpmate " in the occupations of his earthly existence, and his perfect equal in the vocation to eternal life. Thus God established matrimony.

God had raised man from the beginning above the natural order by endowing him with Sanctifying Grace which elevated him to a supernatural order. He had besides bestowed upon him preternatural gifts, as the immortality of the body and freedom from tribulations and diseases. But, unfortunately, Adam did not stand the test of fidelity and lost Sanctifying Grace together with these gifts not only for himself but also for all his posterity. In His mercy, however, God promised a Redeemer who was to atone for the offenses against His Divine Majesty and regain for mankind the possibility of entering into Heaven.

There must soon have developed a kind of patriarchal community, consisting of the children and children's children of Adam, who was its head. The descendants of Adam's first-born son, Cain, excelled in material progress. They were masters in the use of musical instruments, and possessed great skill in the working of bronze and iron. But on their short record in Holy Writ we find many crimes, even murder, and a deplorable relaxation of the marriage tie. The descendants of Seth, another son of Adam, devoted themselves more to a life of piety. Both these clans found their sympathizers and adherents. Intermarriages finally brought about a general decline of morals. "The wickedness upon earth was great." Only Noe and several of his family "walked with the Lord."

2. The Deluge. — God now resolved to destroy all mankind by a vast inundation which we call the Deluge. Noe and seven other souls were saved in the Ark, a huge craft built by him at God's command. It is difficult for us to form an adequate idea of that terrible catastrophe, the result of which was the destruction of the entire human race. After the waters had abated, the Ark landed somewhere in Armenia. From there the descendants of Noe spread over the whole earth. The inhabitants of a plain called Senaar, the later Babylonia, resolved in sinful pride to erect a city with a colossal tower as a lasting monument of their own power. However, God "confounded" their language, that is, He caused it to split into several languages, so that they could no longer understand one another. Such a division of one language into many is in itself natural, and has often taken place in history. (See, for instance, § 401.) But in this case God brought about the change much more quickly than it could have happened naturally. The locality of this unfinished "Tower of Babel" was probably the city of Babylon.

All we can say concerning the *date of the Deluge* is that it must have taken place a long time, perhaps thousands of years, before the beginning of the earliest distinct nations. (More about this point, and

about the extent of the waters of the Deluge, will be found in *H. T. F.*, under "Deluge.") The duration of man's existence on earth can only be estimated from the finds of human relics (see page 1) in the strata of the earth, and these do not lead to any definite result. Some modern Catholic authors allow 25,000 years, some only about 10,000. No discovery guarantees the span of hundreds of thousands of years demanded by others.

The map following page 16 has been devised to facilitate for the young student the transition to historical geography from the geography which he learned in the grade school. He is familiar with the names of the continents, with the great oceans and their branches, with most of the rivers named on this map, and with the parts of Europe which in their turn will play a part in ancient history. This knowledge should be reviewed by a brief study of this map, and by referring to it later on as often as the appearance of some new nation or empire widens the field of history. It will help to make clear the relative location of the several lands. Names like Russia, Poland, and others have not been entered, because these countries do not come up in ancient history. Mountains and mountain ranges, though a knowledge of them is very useful and in some cases even necessary for the understanding of the progress of history, have been omitted in order not to crowd the map and cause bewilderment to the young student. (The later detailed maps and the text will take care of this feature.) For Oriental history the location of Egypt, Babylonia, and Syria, with their rivers and cities, should be pointed out more explicitly. The location of Palestine is indicated by the name of Jerusalem.

In general, the student is advised to study the maps of his textbook much as he was directed to study the maps of his geography book.

CHAPTER II

FIRST AGES AFTER THE DELUGE

3. The Families of Nations. — After relating the story of the Tower of Babel, Holy Writ gives us the names of Noe's next descendants, with some short hints as to their dwelling places. These valuable notes connect as it were by a thin thread many of the great nations of the earth with the persons saved in the Ark. The three sons of Noe became the ancestors of three families of nations. The descendants of Sem (Shem) are called the Semites; to them belong the Assyrians, Arabs, and Jews. Cham (Ham) was the father of the Hamites, among whom are the Canaanites (the original inhabitants of Palestine), Babylonians, Egyptians, and the negroes of Africa. The Aryans or Indo-Europeans, comprising the Hindus, the Medes and Persians, the Greeks, Italians, Celts, Germans, and Slavs, were the offspring of Japhet. Mixture of race, however, and the influence of climate and country produced an infinitely greater variety than this plain enumeration would lead one to believe. There is in fact hardly any people in the world which represents an unmixed stock. It ought not to surprise us if many a people, the Chinese for instance, does not fit neatly into our simple classification.

Sameness of language as a rule argues sameness of origin. Yet some few nations have exchanged their own idiom for that of a neighbor. On the other hand, learned men assure us that the diversities among the inhabitants of the globe, such as color and language, are no reasons for doubting the unity of the human race. The languages, in spite of their variety, positively point to one common origin.

4. Religion after the Flood. — Unfortunately the extension of mankind over the earth was, on the whole, accompanied by a

decay in religion and morals. In the course of time much of the supernatural truth revealed to Adam and by him transmitted to his children became obscured. The worship of the One True God gave way to idolatry. Even the natural knowledge of man's various duties was very generally disregarded or overlaid with gross superstitions and errors.

In the beginning this deterioration probably proceeded rather slowly. Much that impresses us as polytheism may have been the adoration of one God under different names in the various cities or regions or villages. When these became united into one large state, the different names of the one God may have been taken to denote different divine beings. Then when many gods were imagined to exist, people could more easily yield to the temptation of making gods or goddesses of the forces of nature which are either useful or terrible to man. The neglect of the one true God was almost invariably accompanied by the neglect of His commandments, a neglect which, indeed, in some countries assumed a shocking degree. Since God's law is written in every man's heart, it is not surprising if, even among pagans, instances of genuine natural virtue are observed.

But the Almighty did not forget the promise given to the first parents. When idolatry threatened to enslave all mankind, He took care that at least one nation still worshiped the God "Who made heaven and earth," and hoped and waited for the appearance of the "light for the revelation of the Gentiles." This was the Hebrew nation.

5. Civilization after the Flood. — At the time of the flood, mankind must have been on a very high level of civilization. Arts were practiced, metal instruments were in use. The construction of a vessel of the dimensions and character of the Ark and the planning and partial erection of the Tower of Babel suppose an astounding proficiency in mathematical knowledge and technical ability. This precious heirloom was not suddenly lost. The various tribes took it along to their new domiciles. It benefited them, however, only where large numbers of people settled together, and where nature supplied the necessary material. If thrown into less favored regions and deprived of connection with the stream of original civilization, they could forget

or fail to practice much of what they or their fathers had seen in their ancient homes. Their civilization sank to a lower level and was likely to sink still lower with every new generation. The natural sources of history disclose the fact that nations living at the same time but in different countries often show remarkable difference in civilization. Far from being surprising, this is but the consequence of the dispersion of the human race.

Such tribes, rendered helpless by isolation and the miserly character of their soil, frequently resorted to a very primitive mode

Reindeer Drawn by Stone-Age Artists

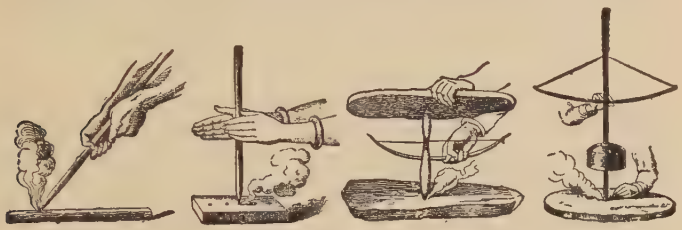
Left: On slate, found in France. *Right:* On horn, found in Switzerland. In both these countries the reindeer has been extinct for several thousand years. Note the spirit of action and the accuracy of detail.

of life. Stone, wood, or bone was the only material they knew how to work into implements for household use or into weapons for the chase. Similarly, intellectual civilization, *i.e.*, the taste for arts of all kinds and a theoretical knowledge of nature and its secrets, could wholly or in part be forgotten. With regard to such tribes or nations we speak of a *Stone Age*, or *Bronze Age*, or *Iron Age*,[1] according to the material which they used chiefly for their tools or weapons. We cannot maintain that there was a time when all nations of the earth were in the Stone Age, or in the Bronze or Iron Age. That *some* peoples passed from a stone period to the use of bronze and iron is certain, and so far as we can see, in most cases the art of working these metals was not re-

[1] Bronze is an amalgam of copper and tin. It is harder than either of these two metals, but not so hard as iron.

invented by them but was received from other nations which had never lost this accomplishment. It would be unwarranted, too, were we to conclude that men in the stone period possessed only a very low degree of intellectuality or morality. (See illustrations.) But even those nations whose culture had sunk to a very low level retained the possession of three elementary features of civilization; namely, the use of fire, the use of domestic animals, and the use of agricultural plants.

6. Indeed, many of the races into which mankind was divided after the Deluge lost a considerable part of their civilization. God saw to it, however, that civilization was preserved elsewhere. Some nations always kept the torch of material and intellectual civilization burning,



Fire Borers

One of the oldest tools in the world. The fire is started by boring with a stick of hard wood into a piece of softer and more easily inflammable wood. This method is still used by primitive nations.

and in their turn spread its light abroad. They added to it by their own inventions, by devising better methods of government for cities and empires, by increasing the knowledge of nature, and by building up systems of every kind of science. Each people did this according to its own character, thus giving to its civilization a peculiar national type. Savage or barbarous races, too, have risen to a higher degree of culture. But they never raised themselves. The only efficient way of reclaiming fallen races is vigorous contact with one more highly civilized.

7. The Art of Writing. — Men want to write simply because they desire to leave to posterity some record of great events, or because they wish to communicate some news to those at a distance. This general desire has created the various writings of the world. Most nations, even such as are by no means upon a high level of civilization, have

devised some sort of writing of their own, consisting chiefly of crude pictures (§§ 24 and 42). Often nations have adopted and even further developed a system of writing which was devised by some other people. Thus our own writing has come down to us, through the Greeks and Romans, from some of the oldest nations known to history, and it was improved by each of the peoples which successively employed it. Unless a people is equipped with a fairly good system of writing, which enables it to leave to posterity documents or inscriptions on stone or metal, we cannot know much of its fate, its successes and failures, except, perhaps, through the writings of other nations with which it came into contact, or through relics, which furnish only an incomplete knowledge. Peoples which have left no written records are often referred to as *prehistoric*. (See *H. T. F.*, "Prehistoric Times.")

8. The nations we are going to treat of are those enumerated on page 5, because we owe to all of them a great deal of our own civilization.

There are other ancient countries in the world, the history of which would be well worth knowing; for instance, China, Japan, and India. To write on these nations also would make our book too bulky. Besides, the civilization of these lands has nothing to do with our own. Its history, therefore, cannot contribute to the explanation of our own customs and institutions.

The most important feature in the life of a people is its *religion* or lack of religion. The student will therefore perhaps expect to find much about the history of religion in this book. But our purpose is to study in particular the *secular history* of those nations. Hence religion cannot be treated at such length as would be the case if it were our principal aim. Nevertheless, much must be said on this subject also, because of the profound influence of religion upon the policy and fates of the nations. We shall call attention to the most important pagan religions, point out their weak features as well as the traces they contain of genuine religious truths, and notice their influence upon the lives of the people. We shall, above all, lay due stress upon the history and *religion of the Jews*, who were to prepare the world for the coming of the Redeemer promised by God. We shall emphasize the history of **Jesus Christ**, His arrival in this world, His preaching, and the foundation and progress of His kingdom on earth, the Church.

60
20
0
20
40
20
0
20
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BRITISH ISLES
BALTIC SEA
EUROPE
Rhine R.
Danube R.
Rhone R.
Ebro R.
SPAIN
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Tiber R.
BALKAN PENINSULA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
GREECE
CRETE
AFRICA
SAHARA DESERT

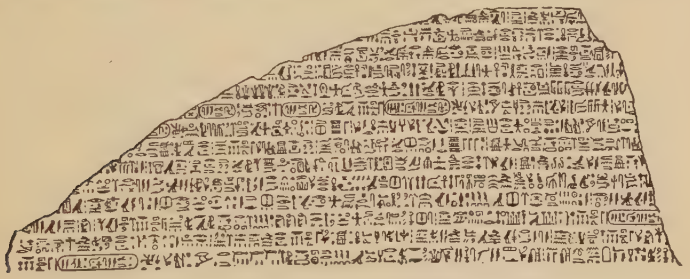
THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES OF ANCIENT HISTORY
SCALE OF MILES
0 200 400 600
ASIA
EUROPE
Volga R.
ARAL SEA
CASPIAN SEA
SEA
ARMENIA
Tigris R.
Nineveh
MEDIA
PLATEAU OF IRAN
PERSIA
Euphrates
SYRIA
Babylon
BABYLONIA
R.
Jerusalem
ARABIAN DESERT
ARABIA
PERSIAN GULF
Indus R.
INDIA
TROPIC OF CANCER
ARABIAN SEA
INDIAN OCEAN
RED SEA
40
20
60
80

PART TWO: ORIENTAL HISTORY

CHAPTER III

DISCOVERIES IN EGYPT AND BABYLONIA

9. Very little was known of the ancient history of these countries until about a hundred years ago. Travelers in the lands of the *Euphrates* reported extensive remains of temples, palaces,



Upper Portion of the Rosetta Stone

About 1800 A.D. some soldiers of Napoleon I, while digging the foundations for a fort at the mouth of the Rosetta branch of the Nile (map, page 20), discovered a stone with three sets of writing, one of them in Greek. The French scholar Champollion surmised that all three had the same contents. By means of the Greek he first made out several proper names in one of the other sets, and finally succeeded in reading the whole. This Egyptian writing is called "hieroglyphic." One of the two hieroglyphic sets is written in the hieroglyphs found on the great monuments; the other represented the simplified "demotic" script (§ 24). Thus a key to the Egyptian writing was found.

and tombs, with inscriptions written in mysterious characters. Scholars at first set these letters down as some peculiar form of Hebrew or Chinese, or as mere ornamentations, or as the effect of worms or the weather. But in 1802 A.D. the German

scholar Grotefend was able to read several royal names. Others by patient labor corrected and completed his studies. The kind of writing thus discovered is called *cuneiform* (§ 42). A happy accident furnished a clue to understanding the Egyptian system of writing. (See legends of pictures on pages 17 and 18.)

At first there was little to read; but new interest had been aroused. About 1850 scholars began extensive explorations in

WORDS FROM THE ROSETTA STONE

They are found in line 6 from top. (The vertical lines mark off the various groups, and are not found in the original.) The signs enclosed in the frame are the king's name. This frame is called a cartouche. Reading the groups *from right to left* their meaning is: (1) There shall be erected; (2) a statue; (3) to the king of the south and the north; (4, the cartouche) Ptolemy, the everliving, beloved by (the god) Ptah. By this document the priests in solemn assembly decreed special honors to King Ptolemy V, in 190 B.C.

the east. Sites of forgotten cities, buried beneath desert sands, were discovered. Most of them contained numerous inscriptions on stone and brick, and large libraries with books written on "papyrus," a sort of paper made from the papyrus reed which grew in the Nile. Part of these writings has been translated. Since 1880 the results have begun to appear in our schoolbooks. Very recent years have been the most fruitful of all in discoveries.

CHAPTER IV

EGYPT

THE LAND AND ITS INHABITANTS

10. The Land and the River. — The real Egypt is composed of a narrow valley averaging not more than ten miles in width, through which runs the Nile River, and the triangular Delta at the several mouths of the river. The valley itself is called *Upper Egypt*, which is thought to begin at the first cataract. The Delta is known as *Lower Egypt*. It has been built up out of the débris and mud carried down in earlier periods by the Nile and deposited upon the old sea bottom.

In this narrow valley and on the broadening Delta lay all the numerous cities and villages. Let the student locate on the map the chief cities, especially Memphis, the capital of Lower Egypt, and Thebes, the capital of Upper Egypt.

Rain rarely falls in Egypt. There are eight practically rainless and cloudless months, toward the end of which the land seems gasping for moisture, " only half alive, waiting for the new Nile." But in July the river begins to rise, swollen by tropical rains at its upper course in distant Ethiopia, and it does not fully recede into its regular bed until November. While the flood is at its height, Egypt is a sheet of turbid water, spreading between two lines of rock and sand. As the water retires, the rich loam dressing, brought down from the hills of Ethiopia, is left spread over the fields, renewing their wonderful fertility from year to year; the long soaking supplies moisture to the soil for the dry months to come. We now understand why the Greeks called Egypt the " Gift of the Nile."

11. The Inhabitants. — Egypt is far away from the place where, after the Deluge, the new mankind began its existence.

It was even separated from those cradle lands by barriers of desert and water. Yet, our natural sources of information show that as early as five thousand years before the coming of Christ there was living in Egypt a numerous population, well versed in most features of civilized life. Over what roads they journeyed to the land of the Nile will probably never be discovered. The Egyptians known to history were a sturdy race, exhibiting a definite type of men, which has remained to the present day. During the greatest part of her several thousand years of history Egypt was ruled by one government, and there existed also, in spite of provincial differences, a pretty well marked national unity in language, religion, and customs.

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

12. The King and the Higher Classes. — The Egyptians, like all other Oriental nations, knew nothing of the republican form of

government. They were ruled by a king, whom they worshiped as a god. His title, *Pharaoh*, means The Great House, implying that the ruler was to be the refuge for his people.

The pharaoh was the owner of the soil. This made him absolute master of the inhabitants, though in practice his authority was somewhat limited by the power of the priests and by the necessity of keeping ambitious nobles friendly. Part of the land he reserved for his own use, to be cultivated by peasants under the direction of royal stewards. The greater part he parceled out among the nobles and the temples.

In return for the land granted to him, a *noble* was bound to pay certain amounts of produce, and to lead a certain number of soldiers to war. Within his domain the noble was a petty monarch. Like the king he held part of his land in his own hands, and let out other portions to lesser nobles, who were dependent upon him much as he was dependent upon the king.

About a third of the land was turned over by the king to the temples to support the worship of the gods. This land became the property of the *priests*. The priests were also the scholars of Egypt, and they took an active part in the government. The pharaoh chose most of his high officials from them, and their influence far exceeded that of the nobles.

13. Officials and Soldiers. — For the service of the state the king needed many *officials*, who were organized in grades like the officers of an army. Especially the collection of taxes required large numbers of public servants. Until the seventh century B.C. the Egyptians had no money, and the immense royal revenues had to be paid "in kind." Cloth, metals, jewels, grain, wine, oil, cattle, geese, ducks — "all that the heavens give, all that the earth produces, all that the Nile brings from its mysterious sources," as one king puts it in an inscription, were delivered into the royal treasury. To receive and register and care for all this required an army of royal officials. The great nobles, too, for a like reason needed a large class of trustworthy servants.

The *soldiers* formed an important profession. Campaigns were so deadly that it was hard to find soldiers enough. Accordingly recruits were tempted by offers of special privileges. Each soldier held a farm of some eight acres, a large farm for Egypt on account of the fertility of the soil. He was free from taxes, and was kept under arms only when his services were needed. Besides this regular soldiery, the peasantry were called out upon occasion for war or for garrison duty.

14. The Lower Classes. — In the towns there was a large *middle class*, made up of merchants, shopkeepers, physicians, notaries, builders, artisans of every kind, and below them all the unskilled laborers. These latter would sometimes resort to a strike to obtain better laboring conditions, as laborers do in our own days.

On one occasion we are shown the workmen turning to the overseer, saying, "We are perishing of hunger, and there are still eighteen days before the next month." (Rations were allowed at the end of the month.) The overseer makes profuse promises. When nothing comes of them, the workmen will not listen to him any longer. They leave their work, and gather in a public meeting. The overseer hastens after them, and the police commissioners of the locality and the scribes mingle with them, urging upon the leaders to return. The workmen only say, "We will not return. Make it clear to your superiors down below there." The official who reports the matter to the authorities seems to think the complaints well founded, for he says, "We went to hear them, and they spoke true words to us."

The *peasants* were not unlike the peasants of modern Egypt. They rented small farms, for which they paid at least one third of the produce to the landlord. This left too little for the support of a family. It became necessary for them to increase their revenue by working as day-laborers in the fields of the nobles and priests. For their labor they were paid "in kind," that is, by receiving a certain amount of grain and other produce.

Throughout Egyptian society the son usually followed the father's occupation, but he was not obliged to do so. Sometimes the son of a poor herdsman rose to wealth and power. Such advance was most easily open to the *scribes*. From the ablest

scribes the nobles chose confidential secretaries and stewards, and some of these who showed special ability might be promoted to the highest dignities in the land.

15. Life of the Wealthy. — For most of the well-to-do life was a very delightful thing, filled with active employment and varied with many pleasures. Their homes were roomy houses, consisting of wooden framework plastered over with sun-dried clay. Light and air entered at the many latticed windows, where, however, curtains of brilliant hues shut out the occasional sand storms from the desert. About the house stretched large gardens with artificial fishponds gleaming among the palm trees. In these households women held a very honorable position, much more so than in any other ancient nation except the Jews. (The same is true of the women in the families of the less fortunate classes.)

16. The life of the poor, too, does not seem to have been void of pleasures. In many places they were the object of marked consideration on the part of the rich. As will be seen later on, the Egyptians had saved much of the original religious knowledge of mankind. "I have not despoiled the poor and widows and orphans," is one of the consolations put into the mouth of deceased persons. There was, moreover, not the misery of extensive slavery, because *Egypt had few slaves.* Generally speaking, Egypt believed in free labor, though the freedom had narrower limits than with us. *The lower working classes* lived in unhealthy mudhovels, in the villages or the outskirts of the cities, sometimes a whole family in one room. There was little sewerage, if any. The streets were covered with filth, and only the exceedingly dry climate kept down pestilences. Often without their fault, often through lack of frugality and foresight — even ample provisions were consumed within a short time — the poorer people found themselves in direst need, especially at the time when the tax collector came around. On such occasions, the whip was freely employed, as was also the case in the forced labors on pyramids and canals. Still, judging from Egyptian literature, the peasants must have been happy-go-lucky folk, gay and careless, too much

so, playing with their cattle, and enjoying themselves by singing even at their work.

INDUSTRY AND LEARNING

17. The irrigation system was one of the wonders of old Egypt. Its beginnings go back to the earliest recorded history. But it reached its highest perfection about 2400–2000 B.C. Large canals received the water from the river to carry it to distant places. They fed smaller water courses, and these in turn split into narrow ditches for the countless large and small farms. The ground was divided into square beds with raised borders of earth, and the water could be let in or shut out at will. Vast reservoirs were constructed to store up the water for those years in which the Nile would not rise high enough, the most famous of them being Lake Moeris. The cities and villages were either situated on elevations or surrounded by dikes. The flood time was the glorious time of the year, because it foreboded a rich harvest. Myriads of boats and barks, filled with gay people, covered the surface of the Nile, which now like an arm of the ocean stretched from the river's mouth several hundred miles to the south. To control, keep in repair, and watch over this admirable system were naturally the privilege and duty of the government, which alone had been able to undertake its construction, and in their inscriptions the greatest of the pharaohs justly take no little pride in having improved or extended it.

18. Agriculture. — The mud deposited by the Nile made the land incredibly fertile. A harvest of a hundredfold for the grain was not rare. The farmer sowed wheat and barley, besides raising beans, peas, lettuce, radishes, melons, cucumbers, and onions. His only implements were a simple sort of a plow, which, however, does not seem to have been used in all parts of the country; a short crooked hoe, the use of which bent him almost double; and the sickle for cutting the grain. The grain was not threshed but trodden out by cattle. The Egyptian barnyard contained not only many animals familiar to us, such as cows, goats, sheep, and pigs,

but also antelopes, gazelles, and storks. The hen was unknown. For their clothing the Egyptians grew flax in large quantities, and abundant flocks of sheep furnished wool. Cotton, too, appears to have been raised.

19. Trade. — It is surprising that Egypt with its dense population, its multiplex division of labor, — some producing the foodstuffs, others making clothes and shoes and all sorts of implements — its elaborate system of taxation, and its numerous officials of government and nobility, was able to get along thousands of years without the use of money. The farmer offering his grain,

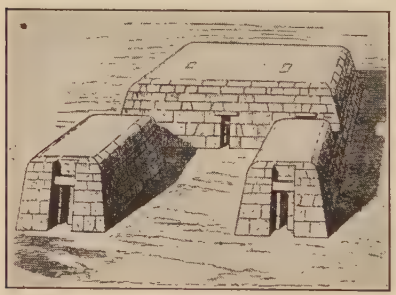
SCULPTORS AT WORK AT COLOSSAL STATUES

Note the great variety of occupations. No two men are doing the same thing.

the truck farmer his onions or cucumbers, expected to receive in exchange clothes, pottery, perhaps fineries. He had to wait by his basket in the market place until someone wanting his produce and offering in exchange the article he desired happened to come along. All trade was *barter*. Money came into use as late as 650 B.C. (§ 66). For some time before this date they used rings of precious metal, but it was of uncertain weight and quality. Barter was the only method of exchanging goods even in the great world trade, in which Egypt took a very active part. Egyptian historical sources inform us of countless imported articles, many of which must have come from very distant countries.

20. The Industrial Arts. — The skilled artisans included brickworkers, weavers, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, upholsterers, glass blowers, potters, shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and almost as many other trades as are to be found among us to-day. In many of these occupations, the workers possessed marvelous dexterity, and were masters of processes that are now unknown. Weavers produced delicate and exquisite linen, almost as fine as silk, and workers in glass and gold and bronze were famous for their skill. Jewels were imitated in colored glass so artfully that only an expert to-day can detect the fraud. Though iron was used by men long before the Deluge, it does not occur in the ruins of Egypt before 800 B.C. This useful metal evidently did not find its way into the Nile valley — Egypt has no iron mines — in sufficient quantity to allow the formation of an iron workers' craft before that date.

21. The Chief Fine Arts. — In conformity with the strong belief of the Egyptians in the life after death and their general religious character, the principal works of *architecture* were tombs and temples. The palaces of the kings and nobles, though at times grand, were on the whole of much less importance.



MASTABAS

These are the burial chapels of great men. (The word *mastaba* means "bench" and was given to these structures by the Arabs.) The pyramids, exclusively the burial mounds of kings, grew out of the mastabas.

In the oldest times of the kingdom the rich people built for themselves tombs called *mastabas*, which were flat-topped, massive stone chapels. The carefully embalmed body, called "mummy," was placed in a vertical shaft leading down into the solid rock. The earliest kings, however, erected the majestic *pyramids*, artificial hills of stone with four sides rising to a point,

for their resting place. The highest of the seventy pyramids still extant is that of Gizeh, said to have been built by Cheops about 3000 B.C. It rises 481 feet above its base. No mortar is

THE SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH

The Sphinx was recently uncovered completely for the first time in 3600 years. The tablet discovered between the front legs recorded the fact that the huge figure had been similarly cleared of sand by Thothmes IV and Rameses II. The inscription of Thothmes indicates that the figure probably represented Harmachis, a special form of the sun god, and guarded the graveyard near the pyramids. The statue was carved out of the native rock, perhaps under the orders of Chephren, and is 66 feet high and 240 feet long.

At the left is the second pyramid of Chephren; at the right, the pyramid of Cheops.

used, but the edges of the huge blocks of which it is piled up are so nicely fitted together that in many places it is impossible to detect the joints. Hundreds of thousands of men worked thirty years at the large pyramid. The king's mummy was placed in a

chamber near the center. Sometimes a later pharaoh cast out the mummy of a predecessor and took possession of the pyramid for himself.

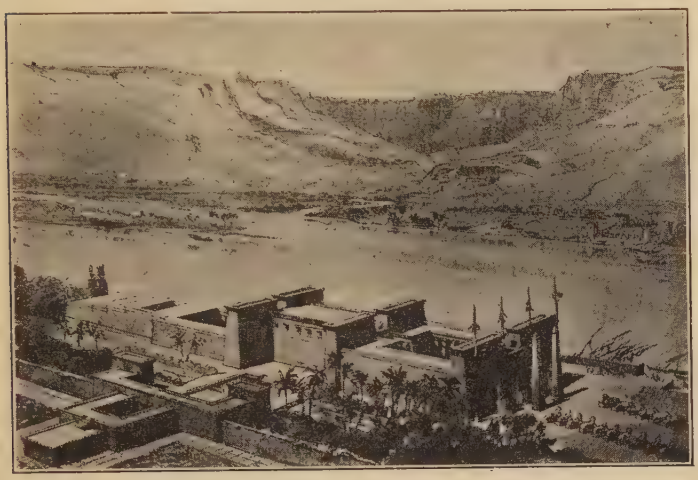
After Thebes in Upper Egypt, situated in the narrow valley between the rocky hills, had become the capital, the kings and great men preferred *graves hewn into the rocks.* These often were regular apartments, each consisting of several chambers, fitted out sumptuously with all kinds of furniture, and decorated with paintings and inscriptions. In 1922 the tomb of King *Tutankhamen,* who reigned in the fourteenth century B.C., was discovered. It was filled with articles made of the most costly materials, resplendent with gold, and of perfect taste and workmanship. This tomb had escaped the devastations of the grave robbers, who plied their trade even in early times.

22. Temples were erected from the most remote ages. The larger ones consisted of several chambers and one or more wide halls, grouped around courts. Columns of massive dimensions, with capitals imitating the sacred lotus flower, and richly decorated, gave the effect of indescribable grandeur. *Obelisks,* high, square, tapering stone columns, flanked the entrances; and rows of *sphinxes,* which are combinations of a lion's body with a human head, marked the avenues. Sphinxes, often of colossal size, are also found elsewhere. They symbolize the union of intellect with physical strength. The walls of the temples and tombs, inside and outside, and the surfaces of columns and obelisks are commonly found covered with inscriptions and painted and sculptured pictures, which make the ruins of Egypt veritable libraries in stone.

The Egyptian art was architecture. The Egyptians had the will, the skill, and the material, to build for ages. All other arts served chiefly to adorn the buildings. *Painting and sculpture,* however, were well developed. Admirable is the exactness with which portrait pictures were executed and portrait reliefs[1]

[1] A relief is a piece of sculpture in which the figures are only partly cut away from the solid rock.

and statues chiseled in the stone. But we often miss in the paintings and the products of sculpture that naturalness and that ease of posture to which we are nowadays accustomed. The pictures, too, entirely lack perspective; that is, the painters did not know how to distinguish the figures in the foreground and those in the rear of the pictures.



Temple of Luksor

This restoration shows that the Egyptian temples consisted of a series of open courts and covered halls, all of which decreased in size and height toward the end. Note the obelisk on each side of the main portal, the avenue lined with sphinxes, and the broad "cut-off" towers called (by the Greeks) "pylons," which flank the entrances. — The term "restoration," or "reconstruction" does not mean that the temple or palace has actually been rebuilt, but merely that learned men, after gathering and studying all the information which can be gleaned from the remains and, perhaps, from descriptions in the writings of contemporaries, have drawn a picture of what in all probability the original building must have looked like.

23. Science. — The frequent need of surveying the land after an inundation had much to do with the skill of the Egyptians in *geometry*. The need of fixing in advance the time of the inundation soon directed attention to *astronomy*. The Egyptians

early had a year of twelve months of thirty days each, and five supplementary days, that is, of 365 days in all. This means much more than we moderns, who glibly read the date from a wall calendar, are inclined to imagine. A year is the time which elapses between the moment when the sun stands in a certain point of the heavens and the moment when it has returned to the same point. It took some skill and perseverance in observing the sun and stars to fix this time with tolerable accuracy. (See *H. T. F.*, "Calendar," 7.) In *arithmetic* the Egyptians dealt readily in numbers up to millions. Their figures were similar to those of the Romans. The accompanying diagram shows how they wrote the number 3423.

ROMAN (upper) AND EGYPTIAN (lower) NUMERALS

WRITING AND LITERATURE

24. Hieroglyphs. — The Greeks called the Egyptian writing *hieroglyphs*, that is, sacred signs. In the beginning the priests alone knew the hieroglyphs, although later on there arose a class of professional scribes. It was a picture writing, that is, instead of writing the word "house" they drew a plain picture of a house. But even in the earliest inscriptions there appears an improvement. The sign for the sun, for instance, also stood for "light," the sign of a bird for "flying." Some signs came to signify syllables, and some even sounds, as our letters do. Had the Egyptians increased the number of these and dropped all the others, they would have had a real alphabet. But this they never did. The hieroglyphs to the last remained an assemblage of men, birds, snakes, tools, stars, etc., which was interesting to behold but very difficult to understand. Hence the position of the scribes was very honorable and profitable. For the writing of books, however, for private letters, business papers, etc., a simplified system of hieroglyphs gradually developed. The strokes of each of the many signs were made less carefully, and were run into one another, thus creating a sort of script, called "demotic" or

popular writing. The dry air of Egypt has preserved for us an enormous number of productions of all kinds of Egyptian literature.

25. Literature. — The literature of the Egyptians has much similarity to the literature of our own days. They wrote religious books, poems, histories, travels, novels, orations, books on morals, on medicine, on science, cookbooks, fairy stories, catalogues of libraries. They had a tale of an Egyptian Cinderella, with her glass slipper.

RELIGION

26. Religion. — We said in § 4 that the worshiping of many gods may have started by the adoration of One God under different names in different localities. Scholars are inclined to assume that this was the case in Egypt. *Ammon, Osiris, Ptah, Aten, Horus,* originally designated the same Supreme Being in different parts of Egypt.

By and by a sort of family of gods was constructed, without, however, setting aside other deities. Osiris became the supreme god. He seems to have been really identical with Aten, the sun god. Osiris' spouse was Isis, goddess of the sky. There were other gods of the moon, rivers, winds, darkness, desert, etc. (Thot, the god of the moon, had invented the calculation of time.) The cult of the gods was strangely disfigured by making certain animals, such as cats, dogs, cows, their type. At Memphis, Ptah was represented by the bull "Apis." In some places people would save their cats from a burning house before thinking of their children. Bodies of Apises and other sacred beasts are found carefully embalmed in the tombs of Egypt.

About 1500 B.C., the time when the Israelites were in Egypt, a pharaoh Ikn-aten made the attempt to force the exclusive worship of Aten, the sun god, upon the whole people. But his successor, Tutankhamen (§ 21), put the old gods and goddesses again on their granite thrones and reopened their temples. From the time of Ikn-aten date such beautiful verses as the following, which seem to indicate that by the sun god was meant in reality the one true God "Who made heaven and earth."

> O living Aten, the beginning of life . . .
> How many are the things which thou hast made. . . .
> Thou givest to every man his place; thou framest his life.

There is certainly much repelling in the system of the Egyptian gods, though they were at stated times carried in brilliant processions through the streets of the cities. A redeeming feature, to some extent, is the Egyptian idea of future life.

27. The Idea of Future Life. — From the earliest times the Egyptians believed that man is survived in death by a certain part of his being similar to what we call the soul. This idea was not clearly understood, for they believed that the soul needed the body to continue its existence, and must either live in or near it. For this reason care was taken to prevent decay of the body, and food and drink were placed in the tomb. Later painted food was used instead. Among the higher classes there was a somewhat truer idea of immortality. They believed in a severe trial by forty-two "Judges of the Dead," on which depended the soul's fate. But this, too, was weakened by rank superstition, as certain formulas or articles were considered to deceive the judges. Of course, even so, this thought of a just retribution could not fail to exercise a wholesome influence upon the moral conduct of men.

The following sentences are culled from the *Repudiation of Sins.* "I have not committed iniquity against men. I have not oppressed the poor. I have not pulled down the scales of the balance." "Grant that he may come unto you. . . . He hath given bread to the hungry and drink to the thirsty, and he hath clothed the naked with garments." And a noble declares in his epitaph: "I have caused no child to mourn. I have despoiled no widow. None of those about me have been unfortunate or starving in my time." Such sympathy for the poor is a note not often heard in ancient literature.

POLITICAL HISTORY

28. The Earliest Times — The Old Kingdom. — At the time to which the earliest sources carry us, Egypt consisted of some forty petty states,[1] each of which extended from side to side of the valley and a few miles up and down the river. Probably

[1] The word "state" is commonly used in history in the sense in which we call England, or France, or the whole United States a state, *i.e.*, a people in some definite place with a supreme government which possesses all the rights of sovereignty.

the individual villages had originally been independent, and had combined either voluntarily or by force of the superior power of neighbors, in order to control to better advantage the flow of the risen Nile. The construction and maintenance of dikes and canals, to lead the water to as many places as possible, required indeed greater means, and also the right over a larger territory than small villages possessed. Even an armed force might be necessary to defend such important and expensive waterworks against private and public enemies. Thus the river, which had made the country, also contributed its share towards its political unification. As a matter of fact, the forty odd states soon appear grouped into two large ones: Lower Egypt, under *Menes*, a prince of Memphis, and Upper Egypt, under another ruler who resided at Thebes. About 3400 B.C. these two kingdoms were united, and the people began to look upon Menes as the first king of their country. Thus began what is called the **Old Kingdom,** which lasted from about 3400–2400 B.C. This period is famous for the building of the pyramids and sphinxes (§§ 21, 22). It was not without revolutions and other interior disturbances, though on the whole Egypt was prosperous under the rule of these pharaohs. The names of Menes and *Cheops* (*Khufu*) are of particular importance.

29. The Middle Kingdom, 2400–1600. — In consequence of interior troubles a new dynasty, which had risen in Thebes, succeeded in gaining control of all Egypt, making that city its capital. As a new departure the pharaohs went for foreign conquests. The chief renown of this class of rulers lies in the admirable administration of the country. They developed the existing system of irrigation (§ 17); improved the roads; explored unknown regions; encouraged trade; and extended Egyptian commerce to Crete and probably to other islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and to distant parts of Ethiopia. A king of about 2200 boasts in his epitaph, probably not without reason, that all his commands had "ever increased the love" of his subjects towards him.

This outburst of glory was followed by a great calamity. When king and people lost their warlike propensities, chiefs of Arabian nomad tribes entered the country from the northeast, and if we believe one isolated report, conquered all Egypt without a blow. These tribes and their chiefs are called *Hyksos* or *Shepherd Kings*. Their principal seat was Lower Egypt. They ruled Upper Egypt by tributary[1] underkings, who were native Egyptians. By the Hyksos the Egyptians became acquainted with the horse. The barbarous tribes gradually adopted the higher standards of Egyptian culture, and their chiefs ruled as Egyptian pharaohs.

HEAD OF LION

From the tomb of Tutankhamen. Modeled in wood and covered with sheet gold. Note the amazing degree of realism.

30. The New Kingdom. — One of the Egyptian tributary underkings succeeded in expelling the Hyksos. Thebes again was the capital of all Egypt. Thus began the New Kingdom, 1600. The struggle with the Hyksos had roused a military spirit in the population. Within a rather short time Egypt was a world power, reaching from beyond the upper Euphrates and the Taurus Mountains down beyond the boundaries of Ethiopia and westward far along the African coast. On the banks of the Euphrates the Egyptians came into contact with the culture of Babylonia, which was equal to their own, though of a different kind. A great king of this period was *Rameses II.*

[1] A "tributary" country is one which is subject to some other country, without being absolutely joined to it. The tributary pays "tribute" and recognizes the authority of the superior country, but for most purposes it is allowed to keep its own government.

For a brief space Egypt even ruled over Babylonia, thus *effecting the first political union of the Orient*, and in some way paving the way for the later empires of Assyria, Persia, Alexander the Great, and the Romans. Commercial relations, too, developed, and the merchants from the banks of the Nile exchanged their wares with those from the Euphrates and Tigris. Yet the improvement of the interior of Egypt was not neglected. (To this period belongs the reign of Tutankhamen, § 21.) It is known that about 1300 there existed a canal, joining, in an east-and-west direction, the Red Sea with the Nile and thus with the Mediterranean.

31. Division of the Country. — Here also we have to record a period of disaster, which, however, was followed by a short time of real greatness. Through dissensions between rival parties and rival kings *the country broke up into many small principalities*, which in turn fell under the sway of a foreigner, an Ethiopian chieftain. In 672, Egypt became for twenty years a province of the now mighty empire of the Assyrians (§ 48). It is noteworthy that from now on the dates in Egyptian history become more definite, whereas many dates of preceding ages follow a margin of several years, and sometimes of decades and even centuries.

32. In 653 Psammetichus, a tributary prince under the Assyrians, made himself independent, and became one of the greatest pharaohs. He threw open the doors to foreigners. He welcomed in particular the Greeks, who were just coming into notice as soldiers and sailors. A Greek colony, *Naucratis*, arose in the Delta, and Psammetichus' own capital, *Sais*, swarmed with Greek travelers, merchants, and adventurers. Thus Egypt passed on the heirloom of culture, increased by her own improvements, to the western world through a younger race.

33. Neco, another great monarch, about 600, though failing in an effort to reopen the old canal between the Nile and the Red Sea, continued encouraging commerce. One of his ships accomplished the extraordinary feat of sailing all around Africa, starting from the Red Sea and returning by the Mediterranean.

The Greek Herodotus, who tells us this story, adds: "The sailors reported — others may believe it but I will not — that in sailing from east to west (south of Africa) they had the sun on their right hand." This report is good proof for us that the story was true.

34. This age of Egyptian greatness lasted only 128 years. In 515 B.C. the country became a province of the Persian Empire for two centuries. After that time Alexander the Great destroyed the Persian Empire. With his coming, Greek culture, Greek customs, and the Greek language rose to a dominant position in the land of the Nile. **Egypt merged into the wider Greek world,** finally to come, like the other lands of the Orient, under the sway of the all-conquering Romans.

CHAPTER V

THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES LAND

THE LAND AND ITS INHABITANTS

35. The Country. — About a thousand miles to the northeast of the Nile we find the twin rivers Euphrates and Tigris, which, coming from the mountains of Armenia, run for the most part of their course parallel to each other. In our own times their beds join shortly before reaching the Persian Gulf. These rivers, like the Nile, were the makers of a country. Their entire lower valley had been formed from the mud and other deposits which they carried down from the highlands. The common valley they had formed was not so closely hemmed in as was that of the Nile. Towards the southwest no hills or bluffs separated it from the Arabian desert which in the north gave way to the mountains, valleys, and little plains of Syria, the seat of an active population, and the connecting link between Egypt and the Euphrates-Tigris region.

Like the Nile the two rivers which had made the rich bottom of this valley also kept it in good fertility by their annual overflow. But dikes, canals, and other artificial aids were more needed here than on the banks of the Nile. As long as civilized nations ruled the valley, care was taken of these engineering works.

The whole country, which in size about equals France, is divided into three districts. The southeastern part is called *Chaldea*, or *Babylonia*. North of it came *Assyria*, chiefly east of the upper Tigris. The wider section between the two rivers is called *Mesopotamia*, a Greek word, meaning "Between Rivers," which name in modern times is occasionally applied to the entire Euphrates country. Mesopotamia was the least fertile, on ac-

count of its (slight) elevation above the level of the rivers, and it has never been the seat of any mighty state.

36. The Inhabitants. — Long before the beginning of written history, about 5000 B.C., this rich country was inhabited by a people called Sumerians, now believed to have been Hamites. They were remarkable for their high degree of civilization. Their flourishing land was invaded by Semites from the west, and through the intermingling of these two peoples arose a new population with new names — the Chaldeans (Babylonians) in the south and the Assyrians in the north. The Chaldeans were quick-witted, industrious, and fond of arts and literature; the Assyrians cared chiefly for conquests and for the gains of commerce. The arts and crafts and institutions of civilized life that existed in the valley had their origin in this early Sumerian culture, though they were greatly developed by the efforts of later generations. These admirable achievements we shall now study in detail.

CHALDEAN CYLINDER SEALS

They were commonly made of very fine clay, but the rich had theirs engraved in precious stones. All were made to revolve on a metal axis and thus to imprint their designs into the clay of the document.

GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

37. Classes of Society. — As in Egypt, republican institutions were unknown. The *kings* ruled with absolute power. They surrounded themselves with everything that could awe and charm the masses. Extraordinary magnificence and splendor removed them from the people. They gave audience seated on golden thrones. All who came into their presence prostrated themselves on the floor until bidden to rise.

The *priests* formed a highly privileged class. They not only performed the sacred ministrations in the temples, but like the

Egyptian priests, they were also professional scholars, and in possession of all the various sciences that existed (§ 12). The royal officials of all ranks were preferably taken from their number.

There was not much of aristocracy. The two great classes of the people, separated by a large number of intermediary steps, were the rich and the poor, and below the poor a mass of slaves.

The peasants, like those of Egypt, paid for their holdings with a large part of the produce. In a poor year, this left them in debt

A Lion Hunt

Reliefs of this kind stretch along the walls of the interior of the palaces. Those in Sargon's palace (page 42), if put in one line, would extend to nearly two miles.

for seed and living. The creditor could charge exorbitant interest; and, if not paid, he could levy not only upon the debtor's small goods, but also upon wife or child, or upon the person of the farmer himself, for slavery. As early as the time of Hammurabi (§ 47), however, the law ordered that such slavery should last only three years.

The *wealthy class* included landowners, officials, professional men, money lenders, and merchants. The merchant in particular was a prominent figure. The position of Chaldea, at the head of the Persian Gulf, made its cities the natural mart of exchange between India and Syria; and for centuries, Babylon was the great commercial center of the ancient world, far more truly than London has been of our modern world. Even the extensive wars

of Assyria, cruel as they were, were not merely for love of conquest: *they were largely commercial in purpose* — to secure the trade of Syria and Phoenicia, and to ruin or cripple in those lands the trade centers that were competing with Nineveh, as Damascus, Jerusalem, and Tyre.

38. Babylonian Laws. — In the ruins of this remarkable country there have been discovered all kinds of legal documents, wills, deeds, marriage settlements, contracts, by tens of thousands, written carefully on baked clay tablets, each signed by the contracting parties and by witnesses. Large numbers of people, therefore, must have been able to read and write, and more than this, such documents suppose an orderly government and well-knit systems of public laws. From these contracts we learn, among other things, that the business relations existing among the people were of similar character and almost as manifold as in our own days. We find for instance that a woman could hold property in her own name and carry on business independently of her husband.

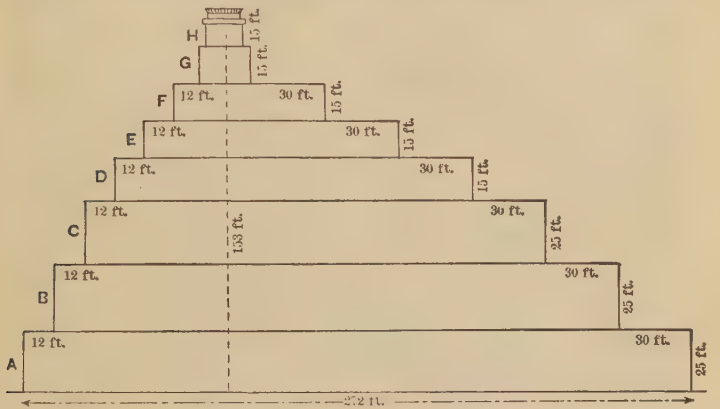
The crown of all these laws is the **Code of Hammurabi** (§ 47), which was discovered in 1902 by a French explorer. A great deal of the regulations it contains existed before Hammurabi's time, but he reproduced them in a more systematic manner, and supplemented them with enactments of his own. The code tries to guard against bribery of judges, against careless medical practices, against ignorant or dishonest building contractors, and against fraudulent proceedings of business men and their agents. Thus it implicitly also testifies to the existence of a very high degree of civilization at the time when it was introduced.

Many of its ordinations, however, cannot receive our approval, least of all the difference it makes between the great and the lowly. Here it reminds us of the Jewish law of " an eye for an eye " and " a tooth for a tooth." It says: " If a man has caused a man of rank to lose an eye, one of his own eyes must be struck out. If he has shattered the limb of a man of rank, let his own limb be broken. If he has knocked out

the tooth of a man of rank, his tooth must be knocked out." It is different if a poor man is injured. "If he has caused a poor man to lose an eye, or has shattered a limb, let him pay a maneh of silver" (about $32).

INDUSTRY AND LEARNING

39. Industries and Arts. — More than the other ancient peoples, the men of the Euphrates made practical use of their science. They understood the *lever* and *pulley*, and used the *arch* in making vaulted drains and aqueducts. In the earliest

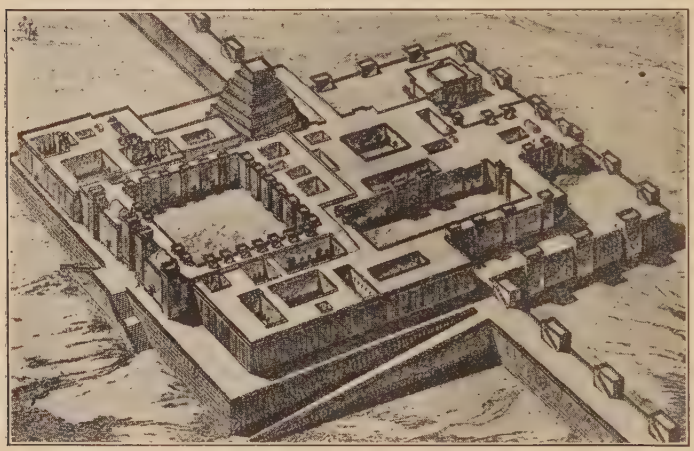


SECTION OF THE TEMPLE OF THE SEVEN SPHERES

From Rawlinson. H is a sacred shrine. The seven stages below were colored in order from the bottom: black, orange, red, golden, yellow, blue, silver. Temples of this kind were very numerous, and varied greatly in size, shape, colors, and number of terraces. (See also the picture on page 42.)

times they employed the *potter's wheel* and devised an excellent system of *weights and measures*. Their measures were based on the length of the finger, breadth of the hand, and length of the arm; and, with the system of weights, they have come down to us through the Greeks. Books upon agriculture passed the Babylonian knowledge of that subject on to the Greeks and Arabs. In the cutting of gems, and enameling, in the production of fine linens and fleecy woolens and artistic embroidery, no nation has ever done better than they.

40. Architecture and Sculpture. — The Euphrates valley had no stone and little wood. Brickmaking, therefore, was, next to agriculture, the most important industry. Ordinary houses were built of cheap *sun-dried* bricks. In other words, the walls were simply clay walls. To be firm they had to be very thick. To be durable they must be protected from rain by careful roofing. Although the Babylonians possessed an admirable skill



Palace of King Sargon of Assyria

It is erected upon an artificial platform. For all the property necessary for it Sargon paid a just price. Greatly different from the other Assyrian rulers, he governed with fairness and protected the poor against the encroachments of the rich. (Reconstruction by Perrot.)

in making kiln-baked brick, they used the sun-dried material most extensively, even in their gigantic public buildings. Commonly the walls were only given a strong facing of kiln-dried bricks. This is the reason why their massive structures are in so deplorable a state of decay. But their works, *temples as well as palaces*, were marvelous, both in size and magnificence.

Statues, so common in Egypt, are almost unknown among the ruins of the Euphrates-Tigris lands. Sculpture, generally speaking, was restricted to reliefs, carried out in large numbers and all sizes on the

walls, even brick walls, and on the rocks in the mountains, and always in connection with inscriptions.

A palace of Nineveh is thus described by a modern scholar. "Upon a huge artificial hill, faced with masonry, for a platform, rose cliff-like fortress walls a hundred feet more. Sculptured portals, by which stood as silent guardians colossal figures in white alabaster, the forms of men and beasts, winged and of majestic mien, admitted to the magnificence within. Upward, tier above tier ran lines of colonnades, pillars of costly cedar wood, blazing with gold and vermilion, and between them voluminous curtains of silk, purple, and scarlet, woven with threads of gold."

41. Science. — In *geometry* the Chaldeans made as much advance as the Egyptians; in *arithmetic* more. Their notation combined the decimal and duodecimal systems. Sixty was a favorite unit, because it is divisible by both ten and twelve: it was used as the hundred is by us.

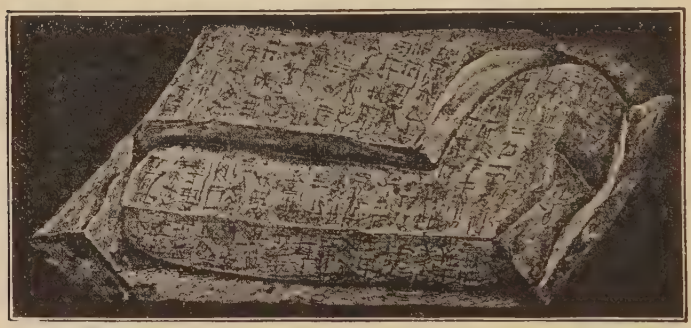
Scientific *medicine* was hindered by a belief in charms and magic; and even *astronomy* was studied largely as a means of fortune-telling by the stars. Some of our boyish forms for "counting out" — "eeny, meeny, miny, moe," etc. — are remarkably like the solemn forms of divination used by Chaldean magicians. (This sort of fortune-telling is called "astrology" to distinguish it from real astronomy.) Still, in spite of such superstition, important progress was made. The Chaldeans foretold eclipses, made star maps, and marked out on the heavens the apparent yearly path of the sun. The "signs of the zodiac" in our almanacs come from these early astronomers. In 331 B.C., Alexander the Great found an unbroken series of observations running back nineteen hundred years. As we get from the Egyptians our year and months, so through the Chaldeans we get the *week*, with its "seventh day of rest for the soul," and the division of the day into hours, with the subdivision into minutes. Their notation, by 12 and 60, we still keep on the face of every clock. Though it is not sure that the Chaldeans invented the *sundial* and the *water clock*, they were certainly acquainted with these devices at a very early date.

WRITING AND LITERATURE

42. Writing. — The earliest Chaldeans had a system of picture writing, not unlike the oldest form of Egyptian hieroglyphs. At first they painted the pictures on papyrus, which grew in the Euphrates as well as in the Nile. Later on they preferred to form them in *tablets of soft clay*, which they then baked for better preservation. Since it is difficult to make curved lines in clay, the figures more and more came to consist of straight lines, and these assumed the shape of wedges. Hence the term *cuneiform*, from the Latin *cuneus*, wedge. Various groups of such wedges now replaced the former pictures, each group being a sort of character. At the same time the writing was gradually simplified, that is, the number of characters was greatly reduced. The cuneiform writing found its way into neighboring lands. Cuneiform inscriptions are discovered which represent the languages of other peoples and of much later times.

NABUCHODONOSOR'S NAME IN CUNEIFORM

See the picture of the Deluge Tablet on page 46.



CHALDEAN CONTRACT TABLET IN DUPLICATE

The outer tablet appears broken and shows part of the inner original, which could always be consulted if the outside was thought to have been tampered with.

43. Literature. — Each of the numerous cities seems to have had its library, which, however, not only contained books, but also served as archive for the preservation of legal documents. The writings are on clay tablets, sometimes several tablets to one work, as with us the leaves of a book. (The papyrus writings have perished from the wet climate.) Each tablet had its library number stamped upon it, and the whole collection was carefully catalogued. In Babylon a library was found which consisted of some thirty thousand tablets, all of about 2700 B.C. There were grammars and dictionaries of the " dead " languages which had been once spoken in the valley, and which were studied as we study Latin; and of the foreign tongues which merchants and ambassadors had to know; and also translations of foreign books in parallel columns with the originals. (See the Deluge Tablet.)

RELIGION

44. Polytheism. — It cannot be ascertained at what exact date and in what manner polytheism began to strike root in this cradle land of mankind. Whether there were still many adorers of the true God in Chaldea when Abraham left this country for the west (§ 56), that is, about 2000 B.C., is disputed. The idolaters certainly formed an overwhelming majority.

As in the case of Egypt (§ 26), the original little states (§ 46) seem to have worshiped the true God " Who made heaven and earth " but each under its own name. When the various regions and cities came to be combined these names were taken for different gods. At one time *Marduk* appears as chief deity. But beside him *Bel*, the god of the Semites, continued to be adored. The Chaldeans also deified the powers of nature, sun, moon, thunder, etc. (They ascribed the invention of the calculation of time to the deity of the moon, as did the Egyptians.) Their idolatry was accompanied by debasing rites, in which drunkenness and the worst kinds of sensuality figured as acts of religion. There was a large number of evil spirits, which under the disguise of animals inflicted sickness and other calamities on men. But amid the wild and chaotic vagaries of polytheism there are also found some beautiful hymns, which reveal a sublime idea of a Supreme Being — no doubt the remnant of the original tradition of mankind.

45. Life after Death. — The Chaldeans did not bestow so much care upon their dead as did the Egyptians. They thought that the souls of the deceased live in or near the tomb in a state of eternal gloom. Yet, as in Egypt (§ 72), there were not wanting those who believed in a more perfect

Fragment of the Babylonian Deluge Tablet

The Babylonians had an ancient collection of legends which claimed to carry their history back several thousand years to the creation of the world. Many parts of it resemble the narratives of the Bible, especially their account of a deluge from which only one man was saved in an ark. These stories are, however, disfigured by the admixture of pagan ideas, and lack the noble simplicity of the sacred text.

retribution: some souls were to suffer in a hell of tortures, others who knew how to secure the divine favor were to dwell amid various pleasures in the Isles of the Blest.

POLITICAL HISTORY

46. The Earliest Times. — We can say little of the long period during which small city states arose in the valley — just as in Egypt. These gradually consolidated into several larger ones. The first great ruler that stands out boldly is *Sargon, King of Accad,* about 2800 B.C., who succeeded in uniting under his sway the whole valley, and moreover extended his authority over all Syria to the northwest. Although this empire (*H. T. F.,* "Empire") fell to pieces for lack of suitable organization, it served to carry Chaldean civilization into other lands. From that time on the fashions of Chaldea were copied in Syria, its literature was studied, and commercial relations kept up the intercourse with the lands of the Euphrates and Tigris.

Ur succeeded Accad as mistress of the south. But the valley was soon overrun by new barbarians from the Arabian desert. These conquerors finally adopted thoroughly the culture of the country, and took *Babylon* for their chief city.

From now on the political history of the country records a *rivalry between the north and the south, between Assyria and Babylonia* for the ruling position in the valley. At the same time that power which held the supremacy commonly ruled over adjoining and sometimes far distant lands, thus forming an empire.

47. The first Babylonian Empire begins strictly with the rule of Hammurabi (§ 38), who lived about as many years before the birth of Christ as we live after it. In 1917 B.C. he completed the consolidation of the states of the Euphrates valley into one realm. Later he extended the rule of Babylon to the bounds of Sargon's conquests, and with more lasting results. Ever since the name Babylon has remained a symbol of magnificence and power. During the fourth century of this empire (about 1500) it came

into contact with the New Kingdom of Egypt, to which for a time it lost most of its dominions (§ 30).

48. The Assyrian Empire. — Assyria, at first a state subject to Babylonia, revolted about 1100 B.C., and under *Tiglath-Pileser I* became master not only of the whole valley, but also of

THE BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN EMPIRES

the lands as far as the Mediterranean Sea. Under the successors of Tiglath-Pileser the extent of the empire varied, although monuments erected in far-away places show that some of them knew how to conquer. In 745 *Pul*, an upstart, who had been a gardener, seized the throne, and assumed the name of *Tiglath-Pileser III*. He extended the empire farther than it had ever been before. He removed the hereditary rulers of the conquered

states and replaced them by *Assyrian governors* (satraps), whom he could recall at will. Thus these countries became *provinces* instead of vassal states. This was a new invention in government, and Assyria's chief bequest to posterity.

The next great Assyrian king was *Sargon II*, who carried away the Ten Tribes of Israel into captivity (722 B.C.; see

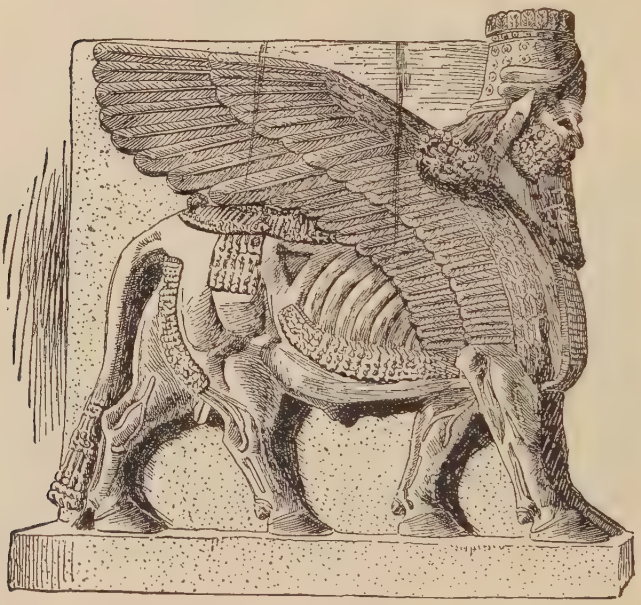
ONE OF THE PORTALS OF SARGON'S PALACE
Reconstructed by Thomas-Place.

§ 62).[1] This transplanting of a rebellious people, or at least of the better classes among them, to prevent rebellion, was a favorite device of the Assyrians. Sargon's son, *Sennacherib*, is the most famous Assyrian monarch. To him is greatly due the later extent of Assyrian power. As his father had destroyed the Kingdom of Israel so he himself forced the Kingdom of Juda to

[1] The Bible attributes the conquest of the Ten Tribes to Salmanassar (Shalmanezer), Sargon's predecessor, under whom the siege of Israel's capital, Samaria, was begun (§ 62).

pay a heavy tribute. But when he marched against it a second time, his army was mysteriously destroyed, "smitten by the angel of the Lord."

> "The Assyrian came down like the wolf on the fold,
> And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold. . . .
> Like leaves of the forest when autumn hath blown,
> That host, on the morrow, lay withered and strown." — BYRON



ASSYRIAN "MAN-BEAST"

It represents the union of intelligence, strength, and swiftness. From the palace of Sargon. (Compare the sphinxes of Egypt.) These figures are never free-standing; they are attached to corners as reliefs in such a way that only the head is free. Very frequently one head belongs to two bodies which are placed at right angles on the sides of corners. (The plastic art of the Euphrates lands produced only very few real statues either of man or of beast.)

Sennacherib's son, Esarhaddon, subdued Egypt in 672 B.C. (§ 31), thus bringing about *the second political union of the East,*

which was much more complete than the first one of several centuries earlier (§ 30). It united a much larger territory, for the Assyrians were reaching out west and east into the new regions of Asia Minor and of Media on the Plateau of Iran.

49. Fall of Assyria. — This wide rule was short-lived — happily so, for no other great empire has ever so delighted in blood. Disagreeable as it is, the student should read one of the records in which an Assyrian king exults over his fiendish cruelties. The following one is by Assur-Natsir-Pul, 850 B.C.:

"With combat and with slaughter I attacked the city and captured it. Their spoil, their goods, their oxen, and their sheep I carried away. I captured many of the soldiers alive. I cut off the hands and feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears, and the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. I built up a pyramid of the living and a pyramid of heads. Their young men and their maidens I burned as a holocaust."

A Hittite Relief on Rock

The larger figure in the picture is about twenty feet high, the smaller one about ten. The shoes with the turned-up toes are characteristically Hittite. Notice the samples of Hittite writing. The Hittites formed a state which lasted more than a thousand years and extended from the Lebanon region to the Black Sea. It was alternately independent and subject to Babylon or Assyria or Egypt. It disappeared about 606 B.C. Its civilization was greatly derived from Babylonia, and the Babylonian language and writing were understood. Though the kingdom was at times very powerful, its services to mankind cannot compare with those of the Egyptians and Babylonians, nor even with those of the Phoenicians. It helped, however, in spreading Babylonian culture towards the west deep into Asia Minor.

Against such cruelty and against the crushing Assyrian taxation, there rankled a passionate hatred in the hearts of the oppressed peoples. After twenty years of subjection, Egypt broke away. Twenty years later, Babylon followed. In 606 the new power of the *Medes* (§ 67), aided by Babylon, captured Nineveh itself. The Assyrian Empire disappeared, and the proud "city of blood," which had razed so many other cities, was given over to sack and pillage.

50. The New Babylonian Empire. — Babylon had risen in many a fierce revolt during the five centuries of Assyrian dominion. A revolution in 625 was successful, and it became independent. In 606 Babylonia joined the power of the Medes in the siege and destruction of Nineveh, and these two new states shared between them what was left of old Assyria. This second Babylonian Empire lasted less than a century. Its most glorious period, 604–561, falls to the reign of *Nabuchodonosor* (Nebuchadnezzar). This energetic ruler checked the reviving power of Egypt, which under King Neco made another effort to extend its sway into Asia (§ 33). He destroyed rebellious Jerusalem and carried the Jews away into the Babylonian captivity (§ 64). He restored the ancient limits of the Babylonian Empire with some additions, rebuilt Babylon on a more magnificent scale, and renewed the ancient engineering works. But a few years after his death, under his son Nabonedus, Babylon fell before the rising power of the Persians (§ 68), as did Egypt a little later, and her independent kingdom was forever at an end.

CHAPTER VI

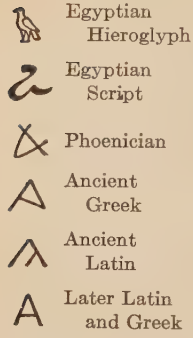
THE MIDDLE STATES

The two Syrian peoples that demand notice in a book of this kind are the Phoenicians and the Hebrews. Each of these was an important factor in history.

THE PHOENICIANS

51. The Land and the People. — No nation did more to carry the civilization of the East to western lands than the Phoenicians. This remarkable little people lived on a narrow strip of broken coast, cut off from the rest of Asia by the high ridges of the Lebanon Mountains (see map on page 57). Nature itself seemed to point out to them the sea as their peculiar field. They had good harbors, and the slopes of their mountains furnished excellent ship timber. In the earliest times Phoenician crews began to creep from island to island, now bartering with the natives, now sweeping them off as slaves. About 1800 B.C., when we get our first glimpses of the Mediterranean, that sea appears dotted with their adventurous sails. Farther and farther their merchants daringly sought wealth on the sea, until they even passed the "Pillars of Hercules," now called the Strait of Gibraltar, beyond which people generally believed one could meet only with inconceivable dangers. The Phoenician articles, found in great abundance in Greece and Italy, testify to the extent and influence of their trade. For centuries they remained the greatest professional sailor folk, the middlemen between the lands of Asia and the western world. Silver, iron, and lead, ivory and ebony, emeralds, rubies, and other precious stones, wheat, oil, wine, wool, yarn, and Oriental spices they transported in their vessels to places where they were rare, and exchanged them for the products of those localities.

52. Their chief export, however, as someone said, was the *alphabet.* It is sure that, about 1500, when the Egyptians conquered Phoenicia, there was in use the cuneiform writing of the Babylonians. About 1100 we find them with an alphabet of twenty-two letters, which they themselves or others had derived from the Egyptian hieroglyphs. It is of the same class as that used by the Hebrews. From this alphabet the Greek and Latin letters, and through these our own, were gradually formed.



POSSIBLE GROWTH OF THE LETTER *A*

53. Colonies. — In many places on which their trading expeditions carried them more frequently, the Phoenicians established permanent stations for the commerce with the natives. Such stations often grew into regular settlements, called "colonies," and became the beginnings of cities. These were always independent of the mother land, and formed little states by themselves. Chief among them was *Carthage* in northern Africa, which grew into a mighty power and later on was to engage in a long struggle with the Romans.

PHOENICIAN GLASS VESSEL

Glass seems to have been invented by the Egyptians, but the Phoenicians remained for many centuries the best workers of this material.

54. The Phoenicians at Home. — Phoenicia never formed one single state. Its cities always remained little separate kingdoms, each with some amount of democratic government. One or another of the kings attained some degree of greatness. Tyre and Sidon, which easily held the first place, were among the grandest and most splendid cities

of the world. There existed a highly cultured class among the inhabitants, though we know next to nothing of Phoenician literature. As to religion, the Phoenicians, like all Syrians, had a low conception of the gods and wild forms of worship with licentious extravagances. The sun god Baal was honored by the sacrifice of children, the moon goddess Astarte by all kinds of voluptuousness. The prophets of Israel had always to fight against the introduction of these abominations into Palestine.

55. The decline of Phoenicia began with the conquest by the Assyrians, followed by the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians. The people easily shifted their allegiance from one to the other, furnished sailors for the fleets of these empires, and architects and workers for the erection of their buildings. The end came when Alexander the Great conquered the land and destroyed the mighty city of Tyre, which so far had remained a prominent commercial center. Tyre never recovered. Fishermen now spread their nets to dry in the sun where formerly its proud towers looked down upon the sea.

THE HEBREWS

FROM ABRAHAM TO MOSES

56. The Patriarchs. — As the Phoenicians were men of the sea, so the Hebrews were to carry out their mission — the greatest any nation has ever had — in the interior of the continent. They are also called Israelites or Jews. No nation has such accurate records of its origin and history as they. God, Himself, called their ancestor, Abraham, a descendant of Sem, away from his home, the ancient city of Ur, where idolatry had become general. God ordered him to settle in what is now Palestine, and promised to make him the father of a great people which was to occupy this very land. **In him " all the nations of the world should be blessed," that is to say, the Redeemer of the world, promised to Adam after the fall, was to come from his descendants.** Abraham " believed the Lord." It must have been about

2000 B.C. that he emigrated from Ur. But for a short stay in Egypt, caused by a famine, he as well as his son and grandson, Isaac and Jacob, lived a nomadic life in the "Promised Land," for two centuries. God repeated to Isaac and Jacob the pledges given to Abraham. These three men are called the *patriarchs* of the Jewish nation.

57. Sojourn in Egypt. — Jealousy arising between Jacob's twelve sons, one of them, Joseph, was sold by his heartless brothers as a slave, but he eventually became the prime minister of the king of Egypt. Soon again a famine broke out. Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to find relief. Here they were recognized by Joseph. He invited his father, Jacob, to come with his whole offspring and settle in Egypt. "Seventy souls" they arrived and found in the northeast corner, the region of Gessen (Goshen), a congenial dwelling place. All this happened under the Hyksos kings (§ 29). In Gessen the Children of Israel grew into a large people.

NORTHERN EGYPT AND SOUTHERN PALESTINE

But the time came when the Hyksos rulers were dislodged by the native princes of Thebes. "There arose a new king who knew not Joseph." Might not the numerous Israelites, in the case of a new attack of nomads from the northeast, side with the invaders? So a systematic persecution began. The king "made their life bitter with hard work in clay and brick and with all manner of service" (*Exodus*, I, 14). Finally he ordered killed all the male infants born of Israelite mothers.

58. The Exodus. — Among those saved from royal brutality was *Moses*, whom God eventually chose to lead His people out

of the " house of bondage " into the land which He had promised to their forefathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But the " ten plagues of Egypt " had to come, before Pharaoh was inclined to do the bidding of the God of Israel.

The people first turned to the fastnesses of Mount Sinai, where God renewed with them the *covenant* He had made with their patriarchal ancestors. Under thunder and lightning He gave to them the Ten Commandments, which are chiefly a wonderfully concise and yet complete code of the natural law. They promised to observe it faithfully, together with all the ceremonial and other laws which Moses would make known to them. God in return promised them a special care, such as He did not bestow on any other nation. " They shall be My people and I will be their God." He added pledges of temporal prosperity and of an in-

PALESTINE AND PHOENICIA

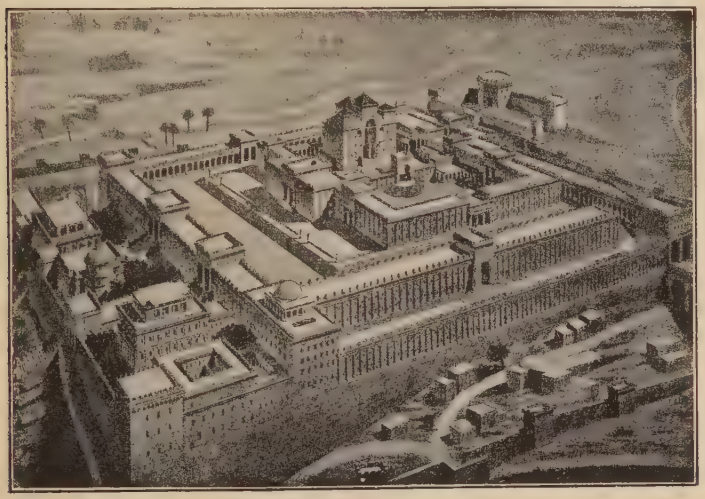
dependent national existence. Above all He renewed the promise given to Abraham, that the Redeemer of the world would be born from among their number. They were to have the honor of keeping ready for Him a place where the worship of the true God would be actually practiced.

Then began a forty years' wandering in the desert, during which they were miraculously fed by the manna. In these years Moses perfected the "Law," consisting of detailed ceremonial, civil, and political regulations. After Moses' death a new generation entered the Promised Land and undertook its conquest under the leadership of Josue. The corrupt population of Palestine had long provoked the wrath of the Almighty. The land was now divided among the Children of Israel according to their twelve tribes. Contrary to the injunction of God, they did not destroy all the former settlers. The survivors of the latter, though subject to Israel, proved very unfortunate neighbors. Chiefly by mixed marriages, they frequently seduced numerous Israelites to idolatry and the gross immorality connected therewith. (See § 54.)

THE HEBREWS AS ONE UNITED PEOPLE

59. The Time of the Judges. — In their new abodes, the people at first were without any political central authority. Each community had local government. It was during this period that on account of their many violations of the covenant, chiefly by idolatry, God allowed portions of the people to be oppressed by the surrounding races, especially by the powerful Philistines. When they returned to Him in sorrow and contrition, He often raised up among them men of great bravery and capability, who freed them from their enemies. These men retained their influence even after peace was restored and acted as rulers and *judges*. Hence this period is called the time of the Judges. They did not represent a stable institution and none of them controlled the whole people. The only strong bond during this time of political weakness was unity of religious belief, a centralized priestly organization, and yearly pilgrimages to the Holy Tabernacle that had accompanied their fathers through the desert.

60. The First Kings, Saul, David, Solomon. — The last of the judges was Samuel. To him the ancients signified repeatedly that the nation wished to have a king like the races around them. Finally, inspired by God, he anointed *Saul* king of His people. Saul, however, although he won great victories over their enemies, was ultimately rejected, because he arrogated to himself priestly privileges.



THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON
Restoration from Herder's *Konversations-Lexikon.*

God now selected *David,* a shepherd boy, who became the most powerful king (1011–971). He succeeded in completely unifying the nation and in extending its boundaries from the Red Sea to the Euphrates. He fortified and beautified the city of Jerusalem, which he made his capital; perfected the organization of the priesthood; and enriched the Hebrew literature with the Psalms, the greatest lyric poems of the world. As a reward for his zeal in the service of God, he received the solemn promise that the Redeemer of the world would come from his family,

and that, if his descendants remained faithful to God, they would be forever preserved in their royal power.

David's son, Solomon (971–929), was famous for his wisdom. With the aid of Phoenician workmen he built the splendid temple of Jerusalem, the center of divine worship for the nation. He also erected a magnificent royal palace, and by his commercial connections with foreign countries enriched the whole people. The first part of his reign is the most glorious period of the history of Israel. As the years passed on the heavy taxes made necessary by his extravagance and luxury embittered his subjects and made them ripe for revolt. Moreover, though polygamy was not forbidden by the Mosaic law, Solomon, contrary to the law, took wives from pagan nations, who eventually perverted his heart, so much so that he even built temples to their gods and took part in their sacrifices. Consequently, a prophet announced to him that he had forfeited God's favor, but for the sake of David his father, the destruction was not to come in his own days; nor would the house of David be entirely deprived of its kingdom.

THE HEBREWS AS TWO SEPARATE KINGDOMS

61. Division of the People. — After Solomon's death, ten of the tribes separated themselves from Roboam, his son. Juda alone, with the insignificant tribe of Benjamin, remained faithful to the hereditary ruler. Jeroboam, a commander of the army, who had fled the country under Solomon, was proclaimed king by the ten tribes. Thus, after 929 B.C., the nation was divided into the northern kingdom of *Israel*, with Samaria as capital, and the southern kingdom of *Juda*, with Jerusalem as capital.

62. The Kingdom of Israel and Its End. — In the kingdom of Israel idolatry became general, so that many pious Jews, especially priests, emigrated to Juda. Jeroboam erected golden calves at Dan and Bethel, the northern and southern points of his kingdom, and invited his subjects to worship them. The fiery zeal of the prophet Elias alone prevented Israel from bending the knee to Baal, the Phoenician sun god. The kingdom lasted 252

years. It had in all nineteen kings, belonging to nine different dynasties; seven of these dynasties were entirely rooted out by those who succeeded them. One king reigned but a few months, another a few days. Only a single king, Jehu, showed true zeal for the Law, and even he tolerated the worship of the golden calves, although he abolished that of Baal.

At the time when the Hebrew nation thus weakened itself, the great empires on the Euphrates and the Nile also were in a state of decline and showed little aggressiveness. The wars of the two Israelitic kingdoms recorded in Holy Scripture were waged between themselves and with the small nations around them. But after Assyria had recovered under the usurper Pul (§ 48), it at once began a policy of extension and soon its boundaries reached as far as the confines of Israel. In 722 B.C. Salmanassar and his successor Sargon II conquered Samaria and led the king Osee with almost the whole people into captivity. The captives were settled in the most distant districts of the Assyrian Empire. *These, "the Lost Ten Tribes," never returned to the land of their fathers.* Colonists were sent to repeople the deserted land; they fused with the remaining Israelites, and thus produced the half-pagan population of the Samaritans.

63. The Kingdom of Juda, though much smaller, enjoyed greater advantages in possessing the national temple and with it the center of the priesthood, and in having the family of the greatest kings as its rulers. It lasted nearly four hundred years, and in this time had twenty kings, all of the house of David. Only for five years a woman, the pagan Athalia, a cruel tyrant, held the reins of government. She destroyed the whole royal family with the sole exception of one child, Joas, who was for some time concealed in the temple. Not all of the twenty kings were truly religious. The last four practiced paganism openly and showed a supreme contempt for the religion of David, their great ancestor.

64. Destruction and Restoration. — Nabuchodonosor, king of the second Babylonian Empire (§ 50), destroyed Jerusalem and

the kingdom. He first made Juda tributary. Several times it rose against him, and as early as 606 B.C. he led away the foremost men into captivity. Finally, he appeared with a strong army before the walls of Jerusalem and took it after a siege of several years in 586 B.C. King Sedecias saw his own sons slain before him; then his eyes were put out, and laden with chains he was carried to Babylon, where he died in prison. The Babylonians utterly destroyed the splendid city; the king's palace and the magnificent temple sank in ashes; the people, save poor vinedressers and husbandmen, were forced to emigrate to the Euphrates.

The prophet, Jeremias, had foretold this catastrophe and warned king and priests and people for years. Persecution was his reward. He was permitted to stay with the miserable remnant of the population. It was then that he sang over the ruined city those touching lamentations which resound in our churches every year during Holy Week.

"How doeth the city sit solitary that was full of people!
How is the mistress of the nations become a widow!
How is the queen of provinces become tributary!
The ways of Sion mourn, because none come to her solemnities,
All her gates are broken,
Her priests sigh,
Her virgins are in affliction,
And she herself is oppressed with bitterness.
All ye that pass by the way attend and see,
If there be any sorrow like to my sorrow."

This severe chastisement had a lasting effect. In their captivity the people again turned to God. Their greatest desire was to go back to the land of their fathers, and to rebuild the temple and the Holy City. After fifty years this desire was fulfilled. As soon as Cyrus, king of Persia, had made himself master of Babylon, he allowed the Jews to return. A large number availed themselves of this permission. Jerusalem and the temple rose from their ruins. The land was now a Persian prov-

ince. The Persian rule was mild; and many privileges distinguished this province from the rest of the empire (§§ 68, 178).

65. THE PLACE OF THE HEBREWS IN HISTORY. — **The Hebrews have not contributed any invention or discovery or other advancement to the material culture of mankind. Theirs was an infinitely higher mission. They were to preserve a place in the wide world where the worship of the true God "Who made heaven and earth" would never cease, and where the promised Redeemer would find a starting point of His work. A special Providence watched over the little nation, and kept it from being crushed out of existence by overwhelmingly powerful neighbors before its mission was fulfilled. By constant and most flagrant violation of God's Law, kings as well as people had indeed forfeited the claim to that independent national existence which God had promised to their ancestors. In view of their repentance, God did not take away from them their spiritual destination. Jerusalem was once more the holiest of cities, and the temple the most hallowed spot on earth. The land of Juda and the new little nation under Persian control were the only place where "wisdom dwelt." Nor did the people again fall away from the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. But the house of David did not reascend the throne. It disappeared in obscurity until the time of "Joseph, the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus Who is called the Christ."**

The only contribution to general civilization by the Hebrews is in the line of intellectual attainments. Their literature, contained in the Bible, is such that even aside from its supernatural character it will ever command the attention of men. It not only furnishes a great amount of historical and philosophical truth, but has also given to the world the most sublime works of lyric poetry. (*H. T. F.*, "Talmud.")

We shall see, in its place, how this people came into contact with Alexander the Great; how it fared after his death; and how, after rejecting the Messias, it ceased to exist as a state, and was dispersed among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER VII

THREE LATER EMPIRES: LYDIA, MEDIA, PERSIA

THE EMPIRES OF LYDIA AND MEDIA

66. Lydia was originally a small district near the western shore of Asia Minor, very fertile, and, like many of its neighbors, rich in minerals. Of the earlier Lydians we know little, and whatever literature they possessed is entirely lost. Their position between the highly cultured lands farther east and the islands and peninsulas of Europe encouraged trade and commerce. They invented *coinage*. About 650 B.C. Lydian kings began to stamp upon pieces of metal their names and pictures as a guaranty that the pieces had a certain value. Such pieces we call *coins*. Before long all the states of the time had their own coins. The first coins were of "electron," a mixture of gold and silver, but coins of gold, silver, and other metals soon followed. In our days we do not realize that mankind got along for thousands of years without coined money. (See § 19.)

It must not be supposed, however, that "barter" disappeared entirely after 650. It always remained in the more primitive communities, and at times even became necessary in highly civilized states (§ 383).

Before Lydia invented coinage, it had become the *head of an empire*, which embraced all the small nations and states of Asia Minor west of the Halys River. It included also the Greeks of the coast cities of Asia Minor. These Greeks in particular helped to make Lydia a connecting link between the lands east of it and Europe in the west. The greatest Lydian king was *Croesus*, an excellent administrator, who amassed such riches that, with the Greeks, "rich as Croesus" became a byword. He was also Lydia's last king, for during his reign Cyrus the Great,

KINGDOMS OF
LYDIA, MEDIA, EGYPT,
AND
BABYLONIA, B.C. 550
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
Longitud 40 st from 45 Greenwich
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
Oxus R.
Caucasus Mts.
Danube R.
THRACE
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
LYDIA
Halys R.
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
IBERIA
Aegean Sea
Thebes
Eretria
Athens
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Hermus R.
Cayster R.
Macander R.
LYCIA
CRETE
RHODES
CYPRUS
CILICIA
Issus
Orontes R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Nineveh
Arbela
Tigris
Ecbatana
MEDIA
PARTHIA
HYRCANIA
BACTRIA
Plateau of Iran
Tadmor
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Lebanon Mts.
Samaria
Jerusalem
Euphrates R.
Babylon
Opis
SUSIANA
Susa
PERSIS
Persepolis
Pasargadae
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN DESERT
Memphis
Nile R.
EGYPT
RED SEA

King of the Persians, conquered the land and made it a Persian province.

67. Media. — East of the Euphrates-Tigris region lay a stretch of mountainous land, which gradually rose up to the Plateau of Iran. In the northwestern section of these mountains and eastward around the head of the Caspian Sea lived the tribes of the *Medes*, a vigorous race, which accepted a good deal of culture from its western neighbors. The tribes consolidated into one kingdom. For several hundred years this was kept in subjection by Assyria. The time came when Media conspired with Nabuchodonosor of Babylonia against the common despot, and after the destruction of Nineveh (§ 49) divided with him the once mighty empire. The civilized world, as far as it concerns us, now consisted of *four large powers, Media, Babylonia, Lydia, and Egypt.* Friendly relations existed between these realms for more than two generations (*H. T. F.*, " Generation "), an excellent chance for civilization to spread more thoroughly among the inhabitants. During this time, however, Media busied herself with the conquest of the barbarous tribes to the east, until she had practically the whole of the Plateau of Iran under her control. (Media did not contribute any new element to the common treasure of culture.) We are now on the threshold of another empire, which more than any of those which went before it deserves the proud title of " World Empire."

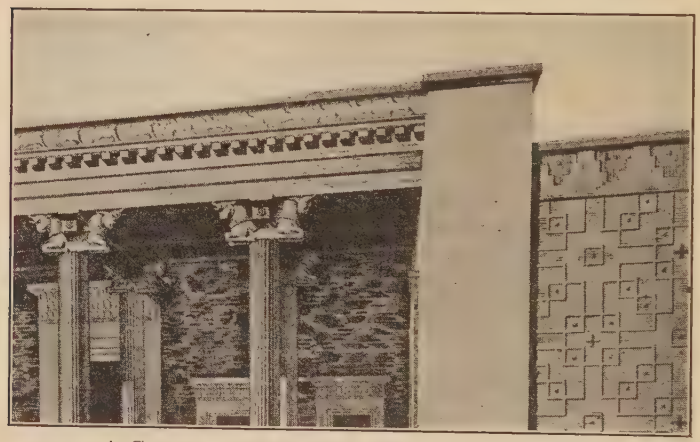
THE EMPIRE OF THE PERSIANS

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR EMPIRE

68. Rise of the Persian Empire. — The little mountainous country of *Persia proper* lay northeast of the Persian Gulf. The Persians, close kinsmen of the Medes, had for a long time formed a separate kingdom which was subject to Media. In 558 B.C. Cyrus, King of the Persians, dethroned the King of Media by a " palace revolution " and put himself in his place as ruler of the entire Median Empire. He did not look upon himself as the founder of a new state. Hence it is that both in the Bible and in

Greek literature the terms *Medes* and *Persians* are often used promiscuously.

Cyrus, the first ruler in history that is distinguished by the title "the Great," at once entered upon a career of conquest. He conquered and annexed both Lydia and Babylonia. (He at once allowed the Jews to return to their land; see § 64.) His son added Egypt. Thus the Persian Empire included all the other empires, and was in reality a world power. The conquest of Iran



A Corner of the Porch of a Persian Palace
Note the peculiar capital; the fluted columns indicate Greek influence.

was completed. This empire comprised some seventy million inhabitants upon two million square miles. It reached from the coasts of the Aegean Sea to the regions of the Indus River, farther than New York is from San Francisco. *It was the third great union of the Orient* (§§ 30, 48).

69. Administration. — To make uprisings of subject kings impossible, the Persian rulers took up the system employed by the Assyrians. They divided their immense lands into provinces or "satrapies," ruled over by "satraps" whom the king could appoint or dismiss at will. The Persians improved on it very

PERSIAN EMPIRE
AND GREECE
490 B.C.
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400
Persian Empire
Greece
Royal Road
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Sea of Aral
R. Jaxartes
Oxus R.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
THRACE
BITHYNIA
PHRYGIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
CARIA
Sardis
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
PHRYGIA
CILICIA
SOGDIANA
Marcanda
PARTHIA
BACTRIANA
Bactra
MEDIA
Ecbatana
SYRIA
Damascus
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
ASSYRIA
Babylon
R. Susa
SAGARTIA
GANDARIA
(AFGHANISTAN)
INDIA
Indus R.
LIBYA
EGYPT
Memphis
Nile R.
Thebes
Karnak
Persepolis
PERSIS
PERSIAN GULF
PARICANIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
ARABIAN SEA
L. L. POATES CO., N.Y.

greatly. The satrap had no army at his disposal, and so could not think of offering resistance to the central government. Besides there was in every satrapy an independent royal secretary, "the king's ear," who constantly reported on the satrap's actions. At certain intervals a special officer, "the king's eye," appeared in the satrapy with an armed force to make investigations and set matters right. Meanwhile the "Great King" — this was the title given to the ruler — interfered little with the language and customs of the many nations under his sway, though here and there a country or a city was dealt with rather harshly. This efficient system was the work of a later king, *Darius the Great*, a distant relative of Cyrus. It went far to reconcile the subject nations to their lot. Like the kings of Egypt and Babylon, the Persian rulers were absolute despots. The prosperity of their subjects was to be brought about by royal officials who governed according to directions laid down by the kings themselves.

70. Persia and the Scythians. — The Scythians, a fierce people, half nomads, half robbers, lived in the countries north of the Black Sea and Caspian Sea, and farther east. During the time of the Assyrian Empire they had repeatedly come down on their fleet horses and carried death and destruction deep into the civilized countries, plundering as far as Egypt. The Median Empire was the first to put a stop to these inroads, but it remained the task of the Persian power to keep them out, and nobly did Persia deliver herself of this duty. Her kings even undertook punitive expeditions into the Scythian country.

CULTURE IN THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

71. The Persians as a nation have contributed very little in the line of arts and literature. They themselves were too busy with the affairs of government. They simply adopted what arts they found in the old homes of civilization. In architecture, however, they used stone very extensively, and shaped columns and other details in a new manner. A cuneiform writing was devised for

the Persian and many other languages of the empire. Their literature, generally speaking, is the literature of the countries of the empire.

The Persians were the first great **road builders** of the world. An excellent system of highways, furnished with milestones, inns, ferries, and bridges, connected the parts of the vast domain. A mighty trunk road, 1500 miles long, ran from Sardis to Susa. (See the map facing page 67.) Phrygians, Lydians, Greeks, Babylonians, rich merchants with wagonloads of their wares, poor peasants driving their donkeys laden with goatskins filled with oil or wine, stately trains of satraps and ambassadors of foreign countries — all traveled on these roads in perfect safety. For its own use the government had devised a postal service. Post riders, relayed at certain stations, carried dispatches with incredible swiftness, in six days it is said, from end to end of the main road, while ordinarily the journey took three months. Carriages, relayed at certain intervals, transported persons of rank or government officials. In a most peaceful manner these roads served to " set the world a-mixing," to make every province the participator in the achievements of all others.

72. Religion. — We know nothing about the kind of religion which the Persians practiced before they came into the limelight of history. When they appeared they had adopted the teachings of Zoroaster (about 1000 B.C.?), which are laid down in the *Avesta*, the Persian Bible. According to the Avesta there is one good god, called Ahura Mazda, or Ormuzd, who created all good things; and another god, called Ahriman, who is bad and created all evil things. Those who observe the commandments of Ahura Mazda will be rewarded in the next world; if anyone sins, the door is open for repentance. But those whose evil deeds outweigh the good will suffer in a terrible hell of fire. In the end Ahura Mazda will conquer. There will be a general resurrection from death, and Ahriman will be destroyed. The outward sign of Ahura Mazda, and as it were his robe, is the light; hence their veneration for the sun and fire.

73. The moral system, as far as we know, was nobler and purer than that of any other ancient nation except the Hebrews. Virtues and vices are enumerated much as in Christian ethics. Special stress is laid on purity, — material cleanness included, — on charity and kindness, and on truthfulness. Lying is one of the greatest evils; "may Ahura Mazda protect this land from hostile inroads, from bad harvests, and from lying." The youths of the Persian nobility were trained to ride, to shoot with the bow, and to tell the truth. Agriculture was raised to the dignity of a religious duty.

PART THREE: THE GREEKS

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAND AND ITS INHABITANTS

74. The Land of the Greeks. — In few cases has the geography of a country so profoundly influenced the population and affected its history so powerfully as in the case of the Greek and his land. A glance at the map shows that Greece is almost all coast. If you use the scale given on the map, you will discover that few points of the inland are more than fifty miles away from the sea. The land itself is broken up into smaller districts by mountain ranges. These are sufficiently high to separate the valleys and diminutive plains, and not high enough to prevent human intercourse altogether. The numerous bays and channels, too, both separate and connect the small sections.

Greece therefore differs widely from the narrow valley of the Nile, from the monotonous plain of the Euphrates and Tigris, and from the mountainous highlands of Asia Minor and northern Syria with their distance from the sea. The whole continent of Europe with its peninsulas and islands is vastly different from Asia, and Greece has rightly been said to be the most European country of Europe. The soil repaid the labor of a frugal and industrious population. This nature of the land had its influence upon the dwellers. They strongly believed in a great deal of local independence. Ancient Greece never formed one state.

75. The inhabitants of this land did not use the terms Greece and Greek. They referred to themselves as *Hellenes*, and to their land as *Hellas*, though these names do not occur in the very

GREECE
AND
ADJOINING COASTS
(For General Reference)
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 75 100 125
Ionians
Dorians
Æolians
Route of Xerxes
Longitude
18
20
22
40
38
36
ITALY
Apollonia
ILLYRIA
PAEONIA
MACEDONIA
Methone
Pydna
Potidæa
Thermaic
Gulf
Olympus Mt.
EPIRUS
THESSALIA
Ossa Mt.
Peneius
Larissa
CORCYRA
MOLOSSIA
Ambracia
Actium
LEUCAS
ACARNANIA
Stratus
AETOLIA
Thermopylæ
Oeta Mt.
Parnassus Mt.
Delphi
LOCRIS
Coronea
Chaeronea
BOEOTIA
Thespia
Plataea
ITHACA
CEPHALLENIA
Patræ
ACHAEA
G. of Corinth
ISTHMUS OF CORINTH
Sicyon
Corinth
Mycenæ
Megara
ZACYNTHUS
ELIS
Olympia
ARCADIA
Mantinea
ARGOLIS
Argos
Epidaurus
Alpheus R.
Tegea
Gulf of Argolis
MESSENE
Sparta
LACONIA
Messenian Gulf
Laconian Gulf
Taenarium Pr.
Malea Pr.
CYTHERA
IONIAN SEA

25
28
30
Philippi
THRACE
Doriscus
THASOS
Aenos
PROPONTIS
Xerxes
SAMOTHRACE
Sestus
Abydus
Cyzicus
Athos Mt.
IMBROS
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
Troy
MYSIA
LESBOS
Mitylene
Pergamos
SCYROS
Phocaea
Cyme
Magnesia
Sardes
CHIOS
Erythrae
LYDIA
ANDROS
Ephesus
Magnesia
SAMOS
ICAROS
Miletus
CARIA
DELOS
PAROS
Paros
NAXOS
Halicarnassus
COS
LYCIA
RHODES
Ida Mt.
Gortyna
from Greenwich
25
28

earliest times. *Hellas*, however, included not only the peninsula now called Greece, but also the coast of Asia Minor, and the shores of southern Italy with the island of Sicily. European Greece, or Greece proper, was the heart of Hellas.

All the Grecian peninsula, the Aegean Sea, and the coast of Asia Minor can be put into the state of Colorado. The inhabitants of European Greece probably never exceeded two or three million. This little land and this insignificant population at one time played a most important part in the great world of international politics, and by its civic and intellectual institutions and its cultural achievements became the teacher of mankind in almost all matters merely human.

Greece faces Asia. It was therefore excellently fitted to receive whatever culture Asia had to offer. But the independent Hellenic mind never accepted any elements of civilization without suiting them to its own character, views, and needs. Thus came about the admirable Hellenic culture, which in many ways is the culture we ourselves possess.

The details of Greek geography are best studied directly from the map following page 70. Lists should be made of the various districts. (Which districts have no coasts?) Locate Sparta, Athens, Corinth, Thebes, Delphi, Mycenae, Olympia, Messenae; the mountains Parnassus, Ossa, Olympus; the Aegean Sea, the Propontis (now Sea of Marmara); the Hellespont (now the Dardanelles), the Peloponnesus.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLIER AGES

DISCOVERIES

76. About sixty years ago the students in our schools were told that Greek history begins with some degree of certainty about 600 B.C. The students indeed read the famous great epics — *Iliad* and *Odyssey* — of the blind poet Homer. The *Iliad* describes in admirable form a ten years' war of the Greeks against Troy (Ilium), a city in the northwest corner of Asia Minor. The *Odyssey* relates the wonderful exploits and adventures of Odysseus, one of the prominent leaders in the Trojan war. Since no traces of these and similar events and movements were known, many learned men considered these poems as mere fiction, though very charming. It is now granted that these works of poetry are at least based on real existing conditions. Even though the siege of Troy may not be a genuine fact, there can be no doubt that the customs and usages so admirably depicted, the life so graphically described, the weapons used in fighting, the furniture adorning the homes, the utensils and tools employed in kitchen and dining room must have at one time existed. We have now a pretty exact idea of a certain kind of civilization that once extended over the Greek lands. This change of view was brought about by excavations and the most unexpected discoveries. The man who inaugurated this movement was Dr. Heinrich Schliemann.

77. Heinrich Schliemann was born in 1822, the child of a German village pastor. He always liked fairy stories and tales of treasures hidden in places near his home. Once his father showed him a fanciful picture of the huge walls of Troy. The boy was deeply inter-

ested, and when told that nobody knew exactly where Troy had stood, he indignantly insisted that such walls must have left traces which one could find by digging in the ground. The father playfully agreed that sometime Heinrich was to find them. This really became the boy's ambition. But he needed money. So he entered upon a business career, working up from the position of a grocer's boy to that of a trusted employee of great corporations. While giving all his leisure to the study of ancient and modern languages, he nevertheless, through hardship and adventure (shipwreck in one instance), succeeded in amassing a considerable fortune. He began his life work in 1870, and continued it until his death in 1890.

78. Results of Excavations. Troy. — Dr. Schliemann started his excavation at a small village in " Troyland," where tradition placed the old city of Troy (Ilium). He dug into a hill of ruins, about fifty feet high, until he reached the virgin soil below. He was able to distinguish nine different " cities," one below another. The lowest settlement had been of a rather primitive character. The second city from the bottom had strong walls and had been destroyed by fire. It yielded many articles of bronze and gold. Schliemann thought this was the Troy of the *Iliad*. Later on, further investigations showed that the sixth city from below, a much larger and finer one, which must have perished by fire some twelve hundred years B.C., corresponded much more exactly to the descriptions of the *Iliad*. Present-day scholars feel sure that this was Homeric Troy.

79. Mycenae and Crete. — At *Mycenae*, according to Homer the residence of Agamemnon, the chief leader of the Greeks in the Trojan war, Schliemann discovered the remains of an ancient city with extensive palaces, which showed the gorgeous ornamentation described by Homer. In royal tombs the bodies lay in the splendor of their golden crowns and breastplates, their faces covered with golden masks. In one tomb there was a downfall of golden leaves and flowers.

The most wonderful discoveries were those made in *Crete*. At Knossos (Gnossos, Cnossos) a palace of " King Minos " was unearthed covering more than four acres, with splendid throne

rooms, halls, corridors, living and store rooms. The sculptures on the walls, paintings on vases, swordblades inlaid with gold designs, and other things bear witness to the brilliancy of this long forgotten civilization.

These discoveries have enabled historians to learn much about the earliest times of Greece, and to push the beginnings of available history deep into the past.

Bronze Dagger from Mycenae
It is inlaid with gold. Note the various attitudes of the lions.

THE CRETAN CIVILIZATION

80. Earliest Stage of Culture. — As early as 3000 B.C. there lived a rather highly civilized race on both sides of the Aegean Sea, and on the clustering islands. Our sole source for this knowledge is derived from relics. Nobody has as yet been able to decipher the numerous pieces of writing that have been discovered. However, the many pictorial representations of human life, the very condition of the ruins of palaces and other buildings, the causes of their destruction, and the evident attempts, successful or unsuccessful, at rebuilding them, furnish a surprising amount of information.

The lowest six cities of Schliemann, of which the Troy of Homer is the sixth (counting from below), belong to this period. Even the very oldest settlers were by no means without refinement, though they knew only stone implements. The ornamentation of their handmade pottery shows skill and love of beauty. There must have been a considerable trade, too. The best sort of the stone knives and arrowheads appears to have been made of a

peculiar dark and hard stone, which is found in considerable quantity only in the island of Melos. So it must have come by trade to other points of the Aegean world, and this trade is not likely to have been confined to stone, or stone weapons and tools. Schliemann's second city from below contained bronze relics. This material and the art of working it probably came through intercourse with the Phoenicians and Egyptians, who at this period carried on a lively commerce with these places. Phoenician and Egyptian relics are discovered in large numbers in Greek ruins.

81. Cretan Civilization at its Best. — At all events, by 2500 Cretan civilization had advanced very far, and for the next thousand years it was quite equal to that of contemporary Egypt. The old handmade pottery gave way to admirable work on the potter's wheel. The vase paintings, of birds and beasts and plant and sea life, are vastly more lifelike and graceful than any the Egyptian art can show. The walls of houses were decorated with a delicate " egg-shell " porcelain in artistic designs. Gold inlay work had reached great perfection.

The palace at Knossos in Crete was built about 2200 B.C., and rebuilt and improved about 1800 B.C. Its monarch must have ruled all the island, and probably (as the Greek legends taught) over wide regions of the sea. The city had no walls to shut out an enemy: Crete relied upon her sea power to ward off invaders. We may think of the Cretan lawgiver, Minos, seated on his throne at Knossos, ruling over the surrounding seas, at about the time Abraham left Ur to found the Hebrew race (§ 56), or a little before Hammurabi established the Old Babylonian Empire, or as a contemporary of some of the beneficent pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt.

82. The life at court is portrayed to us in the frescoes of the palace walls. We see the dependents of the prince march into the royal castle in stately procession to offer their gifts and, perhaps, pay tribute to their master; or the court is filled with gayly dressed courtiers. The women were not banished from

society life as in later Greece. These lords and ladies appear sitting, standing, gesticulating in animated conversation. Occasionally the court is represented as watching intently some game or performance, perhaps a bullfight. The bull was a favorite subject of Cretan art.

The chief article of the men's *dress* was a linen cloth hanging from the waist or fashioned into short trousers, like the dress of the men seen on the Egyptian monuments. To this the nobles

Cooking Utensils Found in a Tomb at Knossos

sometimes, when not in war or hunting, added a short sleeveless mantle, fastened over one shoulder with a jeweled pin; their belts, drawn tight about the waist, always carried a dagger, inlaid with gold figures. The women's dress was very elaborate, with fine sewing and exquisite embroidery. It resembled much more the female dress of modern days than did that of the women of later Greece and Rome. The skirts were bell-shaped, like the fashion of some fifty years ago, and flounced with ruffles. Each home wove its own cloth, and had its stone mortars for grinding the daily supply of meal. Most cooking was done over

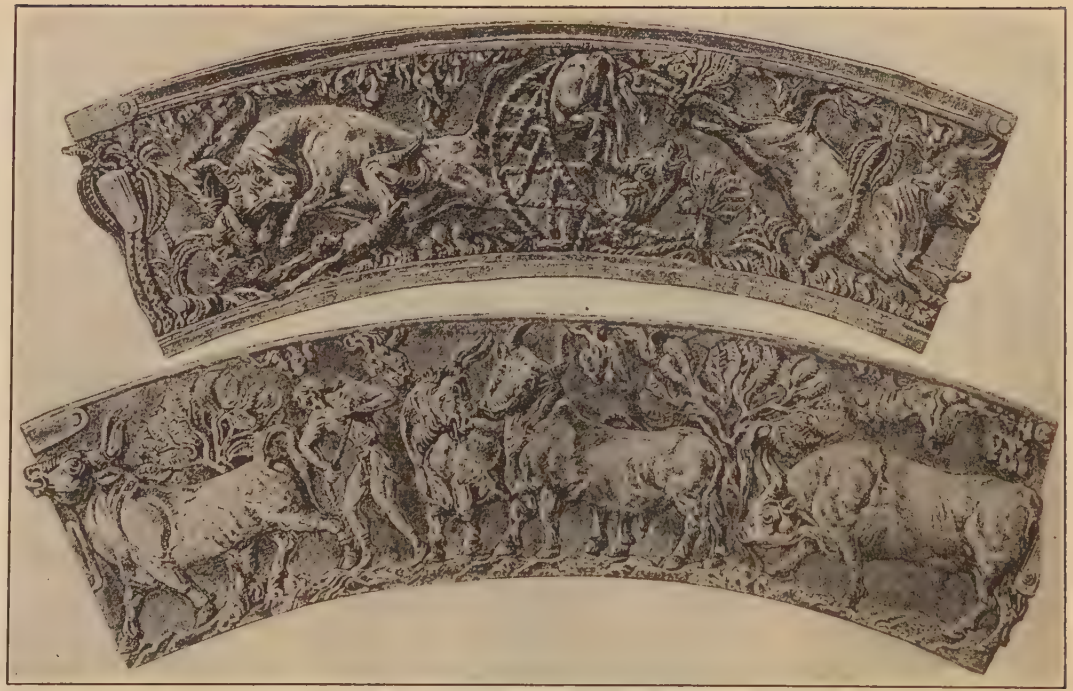
an open fire of sticks — though sometimes there was a sort of recess in a hearth, over which a kettle stood. When the destroying foe came upon Knossos, one carpenter left his kit of tools hidden under a stone slab; among these we find "saws, hammers, adze, chisels heavy and light, awls, nails, files, and axes." They are of bronze, of course, but in shape they are also so like our own that it seems probable that this handicraft passed down its skill without a break from the earliest European civilization to the present. The dark side of this wonderful

VAPHIO CUPS

These cups were found at Vaphio in the Peloponnesus in 1889 and date back to 1800 or 2000 B.C. They are probably of Cretan origin. The goldsmith work is very delicate and yet vigorous. The cups are three and a half inches high.

culture was the fact that all the kings ruled with perfect absolutism, like the great Oriental monarchs, and only the nobles found life easy and pleasant. The masses were far more abject and helpless than in later Greek history.

83. The period of Cretan culture came to an end by a series of hostile invasions, and the consequent occupation of the land by a people which, though not uncultured, brought with it a much lower degree of civilization. The best stages of art, however, had already passed away. Happily, the most important features of the older culture were gradually adopted by the invaders and preserved for times to come.



THE REPRESENTATIONS ON THE VAPHIO CUPS

Stages in the netting and taming of wild bulls.

THE ACHAEAN AGE

84. The Achaeans put an end to the period of Cretan culture. They certainly belonged to a different race. The former population were short, dark, black-eyed, like all the aborigines of southern Europe. They buried their dead, used no iron, worshiped their ancestors, and lived frugally, mainly on fish and vegetable diet. The Achaeans, as described by Homer, were tall, fair, yellow-haired, and blue-eyed; they burned their dead, adored a sun god and a whole host of other deities, used iron swords, and would feast mightily on roast oxen for whole nights. About 1500, bands of Achaeans, drawn by the splendor and riches of the south, came from the mountainous countries in the north, broke into the lands around the Aegean Sea, overcame the natives, dwelt in their cities, became their chiefs, married their women, and possessed the land. An Egyptian inscription of this time declares that "the islands were disturbed." The occupation was a slow process, no doubt involving much unrecorded misery. Occasionally large forces warred long and desperately about some strongholds. Troy and Mycenae may have been among these, while Knossos, undefended by walls, early fell before a fleet of Achaean sea-rovers. Homer's story may have been based upon one of these closing struggles.

In the course of time the Achaeans assumed the characteristics of the natives and disappeared among them. Meanwhile the art of writing had been lost. What we know of the institutions and customs of the Achaeans we owe to their great poet Homer, whose poems passed orally from generation to generation, until the time when writing became once more known.

85. Political Institutions. — For the Greeks every city was an independent state, and every state was thought of as a city. In the beginning probably each geographical district was such a city-state, though later on very often a city-state contained several such districts. All who lived in such a territory were also considered citizens of what we may call the capital, whether they

lived in it or in some other town or hamlet. The independence of these city-states was complete. The relations with a city only five miles away were foreign relations, as much as with the King of Assyria. The jealousy which animated these many little states accounts for the many wars which disfigure Greek history, and for the disunion often shown in the face of the greatest common danger.

Originally every Greek city had a *king*, who was priest, judge, and commander of the army. *A council* of prominent men, chiefs of the several tribes which made up the city population, and also members of his own family, assisted him and to a great extent controlled his actions. *The assembly* of the freemen of the city as a rule could only shout approval or mutter dissent, though it may have happened that a bold assembly thwarted the royal designs. These simple institutions contained the germ from which later on developed the several elaborated political systems of Greece.

86. Society was simple, and manners were harsh. Odysseus ruled as overking in the little island of Ithaca, in a "palace" built with his own hands. If we believe Homer's description, it was merely "a rude farmhouse, where swine wallow in the court." He himself could "drive the oxen at the plow and drive a clean furrow"; and mow all day with a crooked scythe, "pushing clear until eventide." When he was shipwrecked on some island, he found the daughter of the head-king, princess Nausicaa, doing the washing with her band of maidens. Homer speaks of all this as of something ordinary, even as the ideal condition.

The mass of the people were small farmers, their houses being grouped in villages. The slaves were kindly treated. Odysseus at least is on the best terms with them. When he returns after a twenty years' absence, the first to whom he discloses his identity is his faithful swineherd and another slave, and they without any further ceremony embrace and kiss their master. There existed also a class of free landless laborers, whose lot was far from being enviable.

Artisans and smiths were found among the retainers of the great kings. They were highly honored, though their skill was far below that of the Cretan age. Some artistically made weapons and other articles may have come from the workers of the earlier times. Also the palaces of a few kings may have been those erected with so much magnificence in former times — for instance, when we hear of " the flashing of bronze through the echoing halls, the gleam of gold and of amber, of silver and ivory." No commerce was carried on, except occasionally by the kings. These even disgraced themselves by stooping to piracy to increase their profits.

In war the bodies of the slain enemies were left unburied, to be devoured by packs of savage dogs. When the noble Trojan hero, Hector, had fallen, all the kings assembled around his body, " and no one came who did not add his wound." Enemy warriors, if captured, and the inhabitants of conquered cities were doomed to slavery. Even princesses expected no better fate.

87. Religious Ideas. — The Achaeans worshiped the forces of nature as gods. They fancied these gods to be very superior men and women, immortal, good-natured, never troubled with human misery, but subject to all human passions. When the chief god, Zeus, slept, things sometimes went awry, because the other gods plotted against him. All the gods and goddesses, with the exception perhaps of Athene and Diana, were guilty of low vices. But sometimes we find noble sentiments expressed. " Verily," exclaims Homer in one passage, "the blessed gods love not froward deeds. They reverence justice and the righteous acts of men." The gods passed their days in continuous feasting on the top of Mount Olympus, whence, however, they could move through the air to any earthly place at will.

The principal Olympian gods are as follows: (The Latin names, by which later on the Romans designated them, are given in parentheses.) *Zeus* (Jupiter), the supreme god; god of the sky; " father of gods and men." *Poseidon* (Neptune), god of the sea. *Apollo*, the sun god; god of wisdom, poetry, prophecy; leader of the nine *Muses*, who pre-

sided over the individual sciences. *Ares* (Mars), god of war. *Hermes* (Mercury), god of wind; god of cunning, of thieves, and of merchants; messenger of the gods. *Hera* (Juno), sister and wife of Zeus; queen of the gods. *Athene* (Minerva), goddess of wisdom, female counterpart of Apollo. *Artemis* (Diana), goddess of the moon and of hunting. *Aphrodite* (Venus), goddess of love and beauty. *Hestia* (Vesta), goddess of the hearth fire.

The Greeks thought also that all the world was peopled by multitudes of lesser local gods and demigods, — spirits of spring and forest and river and hill — all of whom they personified in their way as youths and maidens. Each family, clan, and tribe, also worshiped its ancestors, especially the one whom they believed to be the founder. Great importance was attached to this worship, which was performed in secret, nobody being admitted to the sacrifices but the members.

The Greeks had a very gloomy idea of the life after death. It was but "a washed-out copy of the brilliant life on earth." Only the very worst offenders were punished terribly in Tartarus, and some few favorites of the gods enjoyed a life of pleasure in *Elysium*, the eternal dwelling place for happy souls after death.

THE DORIANS

88. The New Invasions and Their Effect. — About 1000 B.C. another wave of men came from the north, and hampered the progress of civilization. These men, called *Dorians*, were better warriors. They had iron weapons. The Achaeans fought in a simple fashion, the chiefs in chariots, their followers as an ill-armed, unwieldy mob. The Dorians fought chiefly on foot, arrayed in close ranks, with long iron spears protruding from between their shields. (A battle line thus drawn up was called a *phalanx*.) These invasions, with their attending misery and loss of civilization, seem to have come to an end about 900 B.C. The Dorians had no Homer as the Achaeans had, nor did they leave magnificent monuments as the people of the Cretan age had done. So there is a gap in our knowledge of several hundred years. When the historical sources again begin to speak, about 650 B.C., we find that great changes had taken place in Hellas. The Dori-

ans had settled in many districts, notably in the Peloponnesus. Part of the old inhabitants appear to have fled to Attica and the islands and even as far as Asia Minor. Attica and these other lands were henceforth known as *Ionian*. A great colonizing movement, too, was in full swing (§ 92). Everywhere, however, the same gods continued to be worshiped. The political institutions in the Dorian states, though greatly differing in many points, on the whole were the same as those of the preceding age. During this period the Phoenicians (§ 51), who kept visiting the Hellenic shores, introduced again the long-forgotten *art of writing*. The Greeks with their characteristic independence gradually shaped the Phoenician alphabet into their own elegant letters.

CHAPTER X

A PERIOD OF PROGRESS

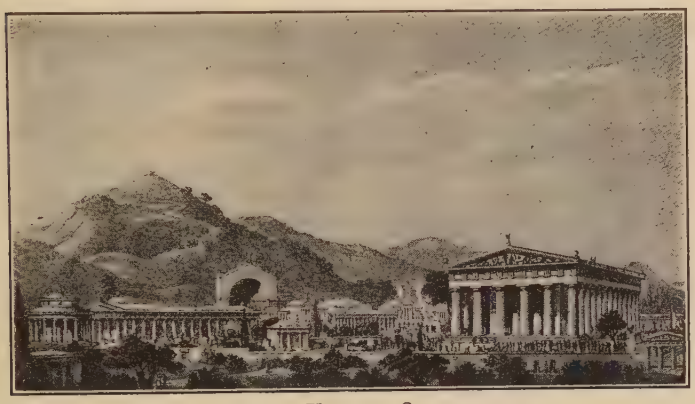
The preceding age had been a period of storm and stress. The next great period we are going to study now will not be without quarrels and bloody wars among the many little independent communities of Greece. We shall briefly mention the more important of these contests. We shall lay the main stress upon the institutions, customs, and other cultural features of the Hellenes. We want to learn what kind of people they were.

We shall have to consider six great movements. (1) The Hellenes awoke to a feeling that they were one people as compared with other peoples. (2) They extended Hellenic culture widely by colonization. (3) The system of government everywhere underwent great change. (4) Sparta became a great military power, whose leadership in war the other Greek states were willing to recognize. (5) Athens became a democracy. (6) A great intellectual development appeared, manifested in architecture, painting, sculpture, poetry, and philosophy.

NATIONAL UNITY

89. The Greeks imagined themselves to be the descendants of one man, Hellen, the first inhabitant of Hellas. The Achaeans, Dorians, Ionians, and a fourth obscure tribe, the Aeolians, they thought were named after his sons or grandsons. They all could converse in one *language.* Though the beautiful Greek tongue was not spoken in exactly the same way in every region, all the Hellenes could understand it, and all the works produced in it in any part of the Hellenic world at once became common property. The Greeks felt proud of their language. They looked with contempt upon all those nations who did not know it. They called them "barbaroi," *barbarians* (babblers), however

educated they might be, *e.g.*, the Egyptians or Phoenicians. All the Hellenes, moreover, believed in the *Olympian religion*, as propounded by their great poet Homer, and worshiped the same gods and goddesses. Thus a fictitious common descent, a common language and a common religion distinguished them from all other nations, and caused them to entertain a racial pride and a sort of common patriotism. Several institutions, chiefly based on religion, increased this feeling of national unity.



PARTIAL VIEW OF OLYMPIA

A restoration. At the left the round *Philippeion*, erected by Philip II (§ 171); next the *Temple of Hera*, the oldest stone temple in Greece; the high *Niche of Herodes Atticus* (died 180 A.D.), containing fountains; between it and the large *Temple of Zeus*, the *treasuries* holding donations of cities and articles used in the contests.

90. The Panhellenic Games. — In honor of certain gods great religious festivities, sacrifices, etc., were celebrated in particular places and at stated times. With these were connected contests in athletics — foot races, chariot races, wrestling, and boxing. All Hellenes, from whatever place they came, and only they, could compete in them. These games commonly drew immense crowds from all parts of the Hellenic world. Here the Hellenes saw themselves really as one people. Here merchants offered their wares. Heralds proclaimed treaties. Although the victor

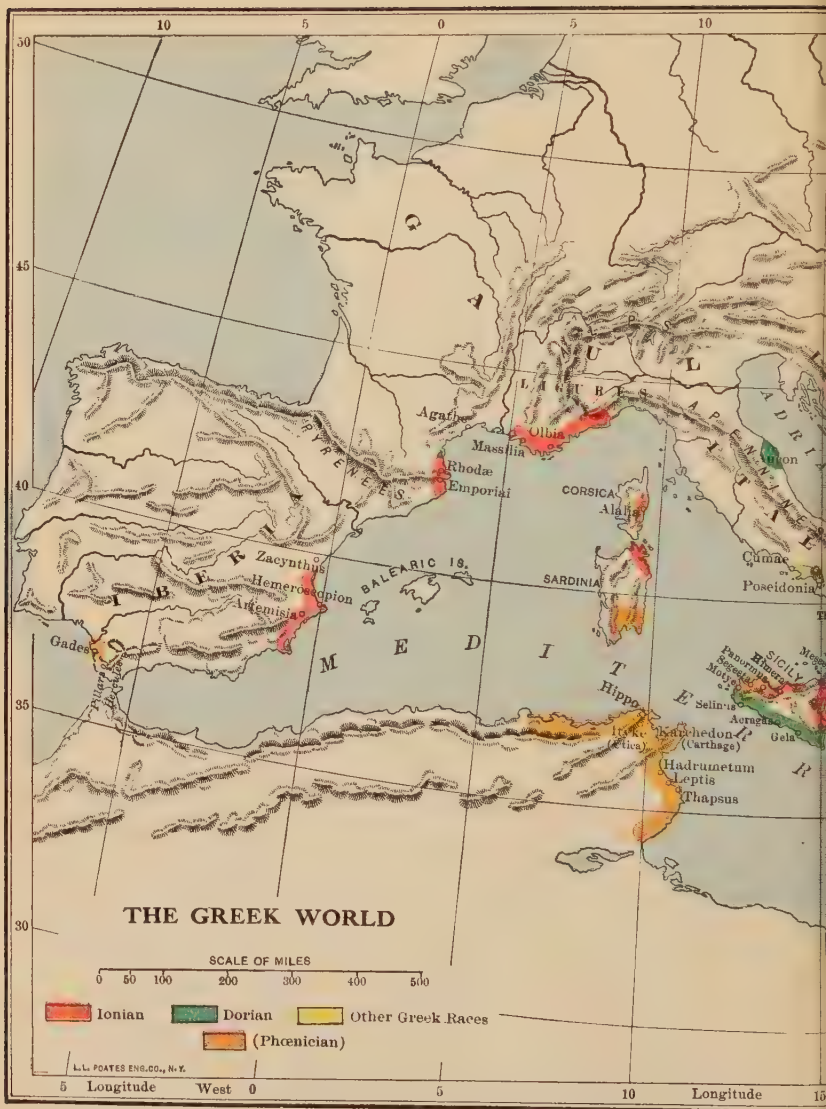
received only a wreath of olive leaves or of grass, he was a famous man. His city would receive him in a triumphal procession and celebrate his victory by inscriptions and statues. Especially famous were the *Olympic Games*, celebrated every fourth year at Olympia in the Peloponnesus. Very soon contests in poetry and other arts were added. Gradually these intellectual contests became the chief feature, though no prize was given to the winner. (See *D. R.*, I, No. 44; and *H. T. F.*, "Olympiads.")

91. The Oracles. — The Greeks believed that the gods in certain places revealed the future, or gave directions in the conduct of affairs. These places were called *oracles*, as were also the answers returned by the gods. Remarkably famous was the Oracle of Apollo, the special god of prophecy, at Delphi. From a fissure in the ground volcanic gases poured forth. Over it a tripod was placed for a priestess to sit on. The gases would soon reduce her to a state of frenzy, in which she uttered words or inarticulate sounds. The priests made up an answer from these sounds for the questioner. Sometimes they gave good advice. When the matter was doubtful to them, they returned evasive or ambiguous replies. The oracles, especially the Delphic, enjoyed great popularity. Private men as well as governments often applied to them in their difficulties.

COLONIZATION

92. First Period. — The Dorian invasion in a way had helped to extend the sphere of the Hellenic world. It caused many tribes to leave their homes and to find dwelling places elsewhere, often in districts which had never been Greek before. In places partly inhabited by Greeks, the fugitives strengthened this element of the population and eventually made the region thoroughly Hellenic. (See § 88.)

93. Second Period. — Between 800 and 600 B.C. a new colonizing movement had widened the Hellenic world. While quiet conditions existed at home, commerce grew enormously. The more powerful cities looked for securing the trade at certain


THE GREEK WORLD
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Ionian
Dorian
Other Greek Races
(Phœnician)
L.L. POATES ENG.CO., N.Y.
Longitude West
Longitude
GAUL
LIGURES
ITALY
ADRIA
PYRENEES
IBERIA
MEDITERR
BALEARIC IS.
SARDINIA
CORSICA
SICILY
Agathe
Olbia
Massilia
Rhodæ
Emporiai
Alalia
Ancon
Cumae
Poseidonia
Zacynthus
Hemeroscopion
Artemisia
Gades
Pillars
Hippo
Itake
(Utica)
Karchedon
(Carthage)
Hadrumetum
Leptis
Thapsus
Selinus
Acragas
Gela
Panormus
Segesta
Motye
Himera

from 20 Greenwich 25 30 35

foreign points, and established trading stations, as the Phoenicians had done. In fact, they tried to drive the Phoenician traders from the Mediterranean. Often, however, there were other reasons: the population might increase too fast for the food supply; or some turbulent poor or rich citizens were to be gotten rid of by this peaceful means. The emigrants ceased to be citizens of the "metropolis," the mother city, for the new colony became politically independent.

CHANGES IN GOVERNMENT

94. The Kings Overthrown by the Nobles. — All the Greek states had inherited kingship from Achean and Dorian times. Besides the king there was a nobility, consisting perhaps of the heads of the former tribes and clans, or of men whose ancestors had performed some signal service to the state, or of such who merely had the advantage of riches in their favor. This class strove for the first place in government. They seized upon such occasions as when a minor succeeded to the royal throne, or when the king was disliked for arbitrariness, or when the state was in great distress. They would, for instance, appoint one of their own number commander of the army. Next, judges would be assigned, first to relieve the king, and then to take over his whole judicial power. As a rule, the king's position as priest would be the last to be taken from him and his family. Thus the rule of one became the rule of a limited class. In this way *the kings disappeared in all the Hellenic states*, except Sparta and Argos, and even there they lost much of their old power.

95. The Tyrants. — The common citizens fared ill at the hands of the new governments. The nobles, the only persons eligible to the new offices, oppressed them in every way. They burdened them with taxes and military duties, and since the nobility also furnished the judges, the people could expect no help from the courts. When, in this way, the discontent had risen to a high pitch, it happened that some energetic commoner or some ambitious noble put himself at the head of the masses, overthrew the

government of the nobles, killed or exiled the officials, and began to rule the state himself. Such men the Greeks styled *tyrants*. This name did by no means imply that they all ruled in what we now call a tyrannical manner. On the contrary, since they had risen by the people, they were bound to govern for the people. Commonly, they put more burdens upon the nobles, and had the dangerous ones executed or banished. Many of these tyrants were able rulers, who built harbors and roads, erected public buildings, and patronized art and literature. Before 500 B.C. every city on the peninsula had such a tyrant or had had one. In the other parts of Hellas, tyrants are met with at later periods also.

One reason for the disappearance of the tyrants was the general dislike of the Hellenes for one-man rule. Very often, too, the tyrant, though perhaps in the beginning a good ruler, had recourse to acts of gross injustice and violence, thus justifying the meaning which we now attach to that word. The party of the nobles could always represent him as an enemy to popular liberty. Any gross blunder on his part, together with their own intrigues and secret and open propaganda, would undermine his personal popularity and lead to his expulsion or death. Yet the nobles had been weakened in the whole process, and the people had gained confidence. In Ionian cities generally a democracy followed; in the Dorian states an aristocracy, though on more liberal lines. Thus the tyrants unintentionally prepared the way for a government by the people.

THE STATE OF SPARTA (LACONIA)

96. Early History. — The Dorians had chiefly settled in the Peloponnesus. At first they formed a large number of petty states, which in the course of a rather short time consolidated into several larger ones (page 102). The one called Laconia eventually obtained the headship, inasmuch as all the other states, with the exception of Argos, became its allies. Messenia, west of Laconia, was conquered and its inhabitants reduced to a state of slavery. The city of Sparta was the capital of Laconia. The people

thought that a man named *Lycurgus* had established all their institutions, though it is more probable that these developed gradually. After they were once fixed they remained unchanged for five hundred years.

97. Classes of Society. — The ruling class in Laconia was the *Spartans*. They were professional soldiers, either at war or preparing for war. They did not work. Their farms, the best in the land, were worked by a class of slaves, the *Helots*. The Helots, much more numerous than the Spartans, were the property of the state, not of individuals. The harshness with which they were treated made them a danger for the state. When they increased too much in numbers, whole crowds of them would often vanish in some mysterious way. In fact, it was no crime to kill a Helot without reason. The loss of one Helot was hardly felt by the state, and was no loss at all for the individual.

A third class, the *Laconians*, owned farms of moderate size. They were free, and could engage in commerce if they so pleased, but they had no part in the government. In war they served as heavy-armed infantry. Generally they seem to have been well treated and well content.

98. The Government. — Sparta had two kings. An old legend explained that this peculiar arrangement was due to the birth of twin princes. At any rate, the kings had very little power, though they enjoyed some honor.

The government, itself, consisted of three parts: the *Senate*, the *Popular Assembly*, and a group of five magistrates called the *ephors*. The Senate was made up of thirty senators, each over sixty years of age. This body was the most important force in the government, for they alone could introduce new measures or propose new laws. The Popular Assembly consisted of all the Spartans. They chose the senators, elected the ephors, and had the privilege of voting Yes or No on all governmental questions. The ephors appeared about 725 B.C. They were selected each year and any Spartan might be chosen. They called the Assembly, presided over it, and acted as judges in all

important matters. One or two of them accompanied the king in war, with the power to control his movements, and even to arrest him and put him to death, if they thought it necessary. In practice, the ephors acted as the servants of the Senate.

99. Spartan Discipline. — The sole aim of the famous Spartan discipline was to make soldiers. This it did; but it was harsh and brutal, and in some points criminal.

The Spartan belonged first to the state and then to the family. The ephors examined each new-born boy. If he appeared too weak to make a good warrior, he was exposed on the mountains to die. Otherwise he was left to the parents for seven years. After that age the boy never slept under his parents' roof. He lived with other boys in barracks to be educated by public masters, who taught him reading, a little martial music, and accustomed him to show respect for his elders. They gave him no mental or cultural training, but plenty of athletic exercises. On certain days the boys were whipped at the altars to test their endurance. It is said that some would rather die than utter a cry. At twenty the young man became a regular warrior, and lived in the barracks where he was one of a mess of fifteen. His whole time was given to military drill. At thirty he was required to marry, but he still ate with his companions in the barracks. He had no real home.

The Spartan built his house with no other instrument than ax and saw. He did not possess any gold or silver. To keep him from engaging in commerce, the state minted only iron money. In contrast with the noisy Greeks all around, his speech was brief and pithy ("Laconic"). Once the mighty King Philip of Macedonia wrote a long letter to the Spartans threatening them, "when I come to Sparta, you will be sorry for your resistance, etc., etc." Their whole reply was, "when." The girls received a training similar to that of the boys. The women were famous for beauty and health, and for public spirit and patriotism.

It is no wonder that with institutions like these the Spartans did nothing for arts and sciences of any kind, though by their military prowess they helped to save Greek culture from foreign foes.

THE STATE OF ATHENS (ATTICA)

GOVERNMENT BY NOBLES

100. The Eupatrids. — The little peninsula of Attica had been spared the terrors and changes caused by the Dorian invasion. Its population had increased greatly (§ 88). Through peculiar circumstances, the whole state had become thoroughly consolidated. Every man living in Attica was thought of as a citizen of the capital, *Athens*. Although the country was ruled by a *king*, there was a numerous nobility, — consisting chiefly of the heads of the several clans — called the *eupatrids* ("well-born"), who acquired more and more powers. As explained in § 94, *they finally dislodged the king*. From their own number they elected nine *archons* to attend to the functions formerly performed by the king. The eupatrids thus ruled the state. The assembly, the *Areopagus*, was closed to all the other citizens. Had they otherwise treated the people fairly, all the citizens might have put up with their domination. However, since the eupatrids owned nearly all the land, they demanded very high rents from their numerous tenants. In case of a bad harvest or hostile ravages, the tenants were forced to borrow seed and food, which they frequently found impossible to return at the stated time. In this event the law, made by the eupatrids themselves, allowed the creditor to take everything the debtor possessed, and even to sell him, his wife, and children into slavery. We can understand how, under these circumstances, there grew up a bitter dissatisfaction and a feeling of revolt.

101. Introduction of the Four Classes. — A little change for the better came when Attica adopted the Dorian method of fighting by forming the heavy-armed infantry, the "hoplites" (§ 88). So far the eupatrids, as heavy-armed cavalry, had been

the main force in war, while the infantry amounted to very little. Since every soldier had to supply himself with arms, only the richer citizens could be expected to serve as hoplites. So the whole population was divided *according to their landed possessions into four classes*, the first two to serve as knights or cavalry, the third as hoplites, and the fourth, which was rarely called out, as light-armed infantry. Thus it could happen that the rich commoners were enrolled in the second or first class, while poorer eupatrids sank into the second. It was natural that the new classes should also decide the question of war and peace. *A new assembly of the classes* was formed, excluding, however, the fourth class. Gradually other matters, too, came before this assembly instead of the Areopagus. The greatest privilege of the eupatrids, noble birth, gave way before the principle of landed wealth, a fact which could not but strengthen the self-confidence of the lower classes. For the time being, it is true, the eupatrids continued to hold the real power, but the first step towards democracy had been made.

There followed a rather rapid succession of political changes in Athens, which were connected with the names of four men: Draco, Solon, Pisistratus, and Clisthenes.

DRACO AND SOLON

102. Draco. — The eupatrids alone furnished the judges. Only they were supposed to know the laws according to which questions of right were decided and crimes punished. Now the commoners demanded that these laws should be written down, so that everyone could know them. *Draco* was appointed to do this. He could not alter them. It still happened that men who had received wounds in the wars for their country were led in chains to the market place to be sold as slaves. Little stone pillars marked almost every small farm as mortgaged for debt.

103. Solon. — The eupatrids finally, driven by fear of revolt, consented to have the laws changed. *Solon*, a eupatrid himself, but known for his fairness to the common people, was elected

sole archon with the power to change the laws as he would see fit. Solon did not disappoint the confidence placed in him. He held his office for two years, 594 and 593 B.C., important years in the history of Athens.

104. THE LAWS OF SOLON. — *A. Economic Reforms:* Several radical measures were calculated to sweep away the economic [1] evils and prevent their return:

(*a*) The old tenants were given full ownership of the lands they had so far cultivated for the nobles;

(*b*) All debts were canceled, so as to give a new start;

(*c*) All Athenians sold into slavery and still in Attica were set free;

(*d*) Henceforth no Athenian could be sold into slavery;

(*e*) Henceforth no one was allowed to own more than a certain quantity of land.

B. Political Reforms:

(*a*) The economic reforms indirectly brought on political changes. Land, which was the sole basis of political power, could now be bought much more freely. Rich merchants, for instance, by buying land, could rise to the first class, while the nobles, who lost all the land so far worked by their tenants, might sink into the second or even third class. Thus the influence of the nobles in state affairs shifted considerably. *Soon the name of eupatrids disappeared.*

(*b*) Solon also made a number of *direct* political changes.

(1) He created a *senate* to prepare measures for the Assembly. The senators were chosen each year by lot, so that neither wealth nor birth could control the election.

(2) He greatly enlarged the Assembly by admitting the fourth class to the vote. He widened its power; it now not only voted on, but also discussed the proposals laid before it by the Senate; it elected the archons, and could try them for misgovernment.

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[1] "Economic" means "with reference to property," or "with reference to the way of getting a living." The word must not be confused with "economical."

(3) The Areopagus was made up of the ex-archons, and so was indirectly elected by the people. Its power was confined to the trial of murder cases, and to a general supervision of the morals of the citizens.

C. Additional Measures: Solon replaced the bloody code of Draco by a milder one; introduced coinage (§ 66); and limited the wealth that might be buried with the dead.

105. The Generation after Solon. — The Athenians were right in considering Solon one of their greatest statesmen. The keenness of mind required to see the roots of the existing evils; the boldness with which he conceived the right remedy; and the courage with which he formulated and enacted his thoroughgoing measures are worthy of the highest admiration. The clause which excluded the men of the fourth class from holding office will not surprise us, when we remember that the high state officers in those days drew no salaries.

After removing existing evils by drastic measures, even Solon could not prevent others from cropping up. The strife between the nobles and the people in the economic and political field was gone for good, but other parties arose, which fought for their class interests. They were especially "the Plain" (the rich landowners); "the Shore" (merchants); "the Mountain" (shepherds and poor farmers). The disorders caused by these party quarrels were so great that twice within ten years no archons could be elected. This time a tyrant of the old stamp prevented a state of complete anarchy.

PISISTRATUS AND CLISTHENES

106. Pisistratus. — This man of noble descent rose twice against the nobility, and was twice defeated by them. The third time he kept himself in the saddle. He did not alter the constitution and laws of Solon. He merely took care that none but his friends were elected to the offices. He kept down disorder by means of his armed retainers. He led the life of an ordinary citizen without any pomp and display. The confiscated

estates of banished nobles he divided among landless citizens. He beautified Athens; built an aqueduct to bring good water into the city; and drew around himself a brilliant circle of poets, sculptors, painters, and architects. To make rural life attractive, he set up religious festivals and courts of justice in the country. He died after a long reign in 527.

Pisistratus' sons, who succeeded him, were by no means his equals. One of them, Hipparchus, was killed in a private quarrel, whereupon Hippias, the other, became a real tyrant in the worst sense. He was expelled in 510, and fled to the King of Persia.

107. Clisthenes, an exiled noble, now became the most prominent citizen. First, indeed, Athens had to defend itself against an attempt to bring back the tyrant. It forced an army sent by Sparta to withdraw, and also defeated the Thebans and Euboeans. It even captured the city of Chalcis on Euboea, introduced there a domocratic form of government, drove out thousands of nobles, and gave their land to four thousand landless Athenians. Contrary to the custom of the Greeks when founding colonies, these men remained citizens of Athens under the name of *cleruchs.* It was a new way of colonization and afforded a means to care for poor citizens without losing their interest and active assistance.

Meanwhile, however, Athens had still some serious problems to solve. The old rivalry between the Shore, the Plain, and the Mountain still caused great friction. There was besides a large class of *aliens,* that is, foreigners who had immigrated into Attica on account of business, and many of whom had become very rich. According to Greek views, they were not citizens, nor could their children or children's children become citizens. Yet they would have made an excellent addition to the power of the state.

108. How Clisthenes Reformed the Constitution. — (1) Clisthenes divided the whole of Attica into a *hundred* regions, *called demes.* The citizens then living in any one of these geographical sections were entered into a special roll, as a recognition of their

rights of citizenship. The hundred demes were grouped into ten *tribes*. The demes of the Shore or the Plain or the Mountain were promiscuously ascribed to the tribes, so that each tribe contained demes of each of the three classes. As a result, each tribe consisted of ten separate patches of land, situated perhaps miles apart. The old three divisions of the land, Shore, Plain, Mountain, were therefore broken up and their party strife was impossible.

(2) He used this opportunity to enroll into the list of each *deme all the aliens that actually lived in it*, thus ending a situation which might have grown into a danger of the state. (Aliens arriving after this did not become citizens.)

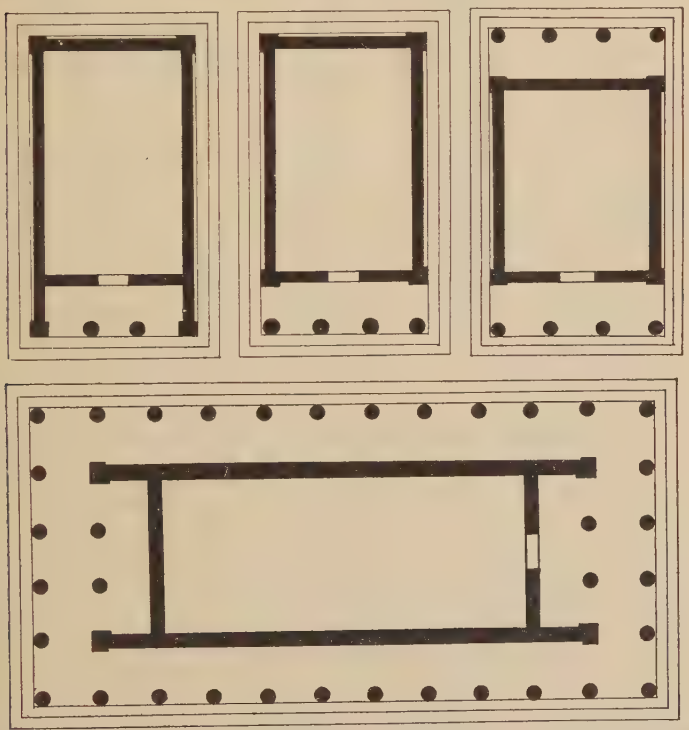
(3) Clisthenes furthermore greatly increased the *power of the Assembly of the People*. It was no longer necessary that the Senate, now known as the *Council of Five Hundred*, pass on a measure before it be put before the Assembly. The Assembly settled all matters of taxation, dealt with foreign powers, and gave directions to the commanders of army and navy. The power of the archons, too, was greatly curtailed; *ten generals*, elected yearly by the Assembly, took over most of their duties. The real head of the Athenian state was the Assembly of the People. It attended to nearly all the functions which our Constitution assigns to Congress and President together.

(4) Another very peculiar measure brought about by Clisthenes is to be mentioned: *ostracism*, a device to prevent the rising of another tyrant or of any influential man who might cause civil strife. Once a year the Assembly was asked to vote against any man whom it considered too powerful. (Potsherds, *ostraca*, and similar things served as ballots.) If at least 6000 votes were cast, the one who had the largest number against him was obliged to leave the city for ten years, but without any prejudice to his property or civic rights. While it may have served a good purpose in the beginning, ostracism later on often was abused by ambitious politicians to get rid of their opponents.

109. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans invented the system of representation. The Assembly was not a gathering of men elected by the citizens and representing them, as our congressmen and senators represent us, but a meeting of the citizens themselves. Only the Council of Five Hundred was a sort of representatives. In Sparta, too, the Assembly consisted of the Spartans themselves, though their elected little senate of thirty had considerable power.

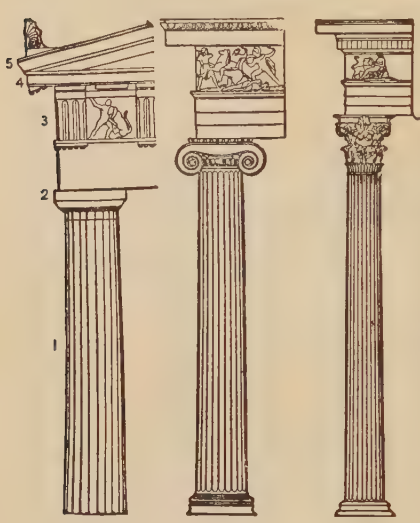
ARTS AND SCIENCES

110. Architecture, sculpture, and painting were well on their way to the brilliancy they were to manifest in the next age.



GROUND PLANS OF GREEK TEMPLES FROM THE SIMPLE TO THE ELABORATE
The variety is much greater than can be shown here. The lower is the ground plan of the so-called Temple of Theseus at Athens.

Architecture in particular showed the lines by which Greek buildings were to be marked for all times to come. The most beautiful and most prominent structures, however, were the *temples*, in the erection of which every city took its greatest pride. At a later date, the *theater* also became conspicuous.



GREEK COLUMNS
1, shaft; 2, capital; 3, frieze; 4, cornice; 5, part of roof, showing low slope.

The walls of a Greek temple inclosed one room, commonly rather small, for the statue of the god or goddess. Usually another still smaller compartment served for the safe-keeping of the offerings. Only the priests entered the temple; the people when praying stood in front of it. The temple commonly had columns, either in front, or in front and rear, or surrounding the walls on all sides. The roof projected beyond the walls, so as to extend over the columns also. According to the character of the columns, the Greeks distinguished the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian "orders."

In the Doric order the column has *no base* of its own, but rests directly upon the foundation from which the walls rise. The *shaft* is grooved lengthwise with some twenty flutings. The *capital* is severely simple, consisting of a circular band of stone, capped by a square block, without ornament. Upon the capitals rests a plain band of massive stones (*the architrave*), and above this is the frieze, which supports the roof. The frieze is divided at equal spaces by *triglyphs*, a series of three flutings; and the

spaces between the triglyphs are filled with sculpture. The Doric style is the simplest of the three orders. It is almost austere in its plainness, giving a sense of self-controlled power and repose. (See page 125.)

The Ionic order came into general use later. In this style, the column *has a base* arranged in three expanding circles. The shaft is *more slender* than the Doric. The capital is often *nobly carved, and it is surmounted by two spiral rolls.* The frieze has *no triglyphs:* the sculpture upon it is one continuous band.

The Corinthian order is a later development and does not belong to the period we are now considering. It resembles the Ionic; but the capital is taller, lacks the spirals, and is more highly ornamented, with forms of leaves or animals. (See illustration on opposite page.)

Let the student realize the difference between the temples of the Orientals, especially the Egyptians, and those of the Hellenes. The Oriental temple, massive, majestic, awe-inspiring, magnificent, has a certain gloominess. This latter quality is totally absent in the Greek temple. The colonnades which hide the walls, the flutings of the columns, the capitals and friezes, the many sculptured representations, produce a pleasing variety of appearance.

111. Poetry. — During the earliest part of our period Homer was *the* poet. He had many imitators, more or less skillful, who produced *epics, i.e.*, narrative poems, of the style of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But Homer's works continued to be read, memorized, studied, declaimed, and sung, during the whole of Greek history. The great variety of subjects treated in them with consummate elegance was bound to give this practice an ennobling influence and produce great refinement in literary art. While Homer always remained in vogue, the seventh and sixth centuries also saw the beginning of *lyric* poetry, which describes feelings rather than events. Two women, *Sappho* of Lesbos, and *Corinna* of Boeotia, are especially famous. *Pindar* of Thebes glorified the Olympic games. *Simonides* and *Tyrtaeus* wrote odes to

arouse patriotism. The purpose of the works of *Hesiod* is to impart useful knowledge in poetical form, and to acquaint the Greeks with the fabulous origin and genealogy of their gods. (One of his books may be styled a "Textbook on Farming" in the garb of poetry.)

112. Philosophy. — At this time Greeks began to think about the nature of things and their origin. *Thales* of Miletus taught that all things come from water. Heraclitus of Ephesus believed that "ceaseless change" is the very nature of everything. The great *Pythagoras*, the founder of the school of the *Pythagoreans*, directed philosophy to the regulation of man's conduct. These men looked upon mathematics, physics, and astronomy as branches of philosophy. They predicted eclipses of sun and moon with tolerable accuracy. Of course they knew that the earth is a globe. To Pythagoras is ascribed the famous demonstration about the square on the hypotenuse of a right triangle.

Summary. — We have now reached the threshold of a new and most eventful period. The Greeks were a people vastly different from those we learned to know in the Orient. In the Orient we met with governments controlled by the most absolute monarchs. In Greece we find the cities tending toward democratic constitutions. Oriental culture is more or less strange to us. With Greek literature and with Greek architecture we feel at home.

We shall now see the contest between the Orient and Europe. Europe's champions were the Greeks. They were prepared for the struggle. They had developed a new fighting machine, the heavy-armed infantry, and they possessed in Sparta a military leader of great power and ability.

From now on, too, the details of Greek history are much better known and a more connected story is possible.

CHAPTER XI

THE PERSIAN WARS

THE OPENING OF THE STRUGGLE

113. The Two Antagonists. — Let the students remember how Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian Empire, conquered the smaller empire of Lydia in Asia Minor, and a few years later that of Babylon (§ 68). His son Darius added Egypt. Towards the east the empire extended as far as the regions of the Indus River.

The coast of Asia Minor on the Aegean Sea was part of Hellas (§ 74), and for two hundred years before 500 B.C. the most cultured part. The Asiatic Greeks are referred to as the Ionian Greeks, though only the central section was inhabited by Ionians. The last king of Lydia, Croesus, had conquered them. His rule was mild, and the cities had merely to pay a moderate tribute. Their internal affairs were not interfered with. Things became different when Persia had defeated Croesus and put an end to his empire. Persian rule bore heavily upon the Ionians.

Hellas had three parts: the eastern part, namely, the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor, the central part or Greece proper, and a western part, the coasts of southern Italy, called *Magna Graecia* (§ 75). In the western section, especially in Sicily, the Greeks were opposed by the mighty empire of Carthage, the great colony of the Phoenicians. Just when the struggle with Persia began, Carthage also made a mighty effort to secure the flourishing Greek cities on that island. This struggle kept the western Greeks from helping their kinsmen in the east.

Conditions in Greece were not very favorable. Athens was at war with the island of Aegina and with Thebes, and several

other wars were going on. Only the Peloponnesus was in some way united under Sparta. This "Peloponnesian League," however, was at best a very loose confederacy, in which the rights and duties of the members were not at all definitely fixed.

THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE (500 B.C.)

114. The Ionian Revolt in 500 B.C. — Cyrus the Great was angry with the Greeks, because they had not sided with him against Croesus. After a short fight for their independence they fell under the Persian yoke. The "Great King" found it best to raise a tyrant in each city, who would owe his elevation to him and depend on his support. In 500 the Ionians deposed their tyrants, formed an alliance with one another, and revolted against Persia. In vain did they apply to Sparta for help. Athens sent twenty ships, and little Eretria sent five. At first the enterprise was successful. The allies even took Sardis and plundered it. But the power of Persia, the liberal flow of Persian gold which made traitors among them, and mutual suspicion, broke up the league. The cities were again subdued.

THE FIRST TWO PERSIAN ATTACKS

115. The chief cause of the Persian Wars was the tendency of the "Great Kings" to expand their territory so as to include every land worth having. Two European countries, Thrace and Macedonia, were already Persian provinces, where satraps and tyrants guarded Persian interests. It was now the turn of the

Greek peninsula to be attacked. Its cities were growing wealthy, and Persia coveted them for their trade and their ships. Athens and Eretria had been wise as well as generous in aiding the Ionians, because the Ionian revolt helped to delay the Persian attack upon Greece itself.

116. First Persian Expedition, 492. — King Darius fitted out a large army, which began its march along the northern coast of the Aegean and down into Greece. It suffered terribly from constant attacks of unsubdued tribes of Thrace. The fleet, which was to furnish the army with provisions, was dashed to pieces when rounding the rocky promontory of Mount Athos. Under these circumstances the commander, *Mardonius*, gave up the hope of success and returned to Asia.

117. Second Persian Expedition, 490. — Mardonius' failure filled the Great King Darius with wrath. The general was disgraced and preparations began at once for a second expedition. Meanwhile Persian "heralds" went to the Greek states and islands to demand "earth and water" as token of submission. The islands yielded. The continental states refused. In Athens and Sparta the people were so indignant that they threw the heralds into a well, telling them to take there as much earth and water as they wanted. This violation of the sacred character of ambassadors, of course, roused Darius' anger to the highest pitch.

In 490 the Persians were ready for a new expedition, commanded by *Datis* and *Ataphernes*. The whole army embarked on the island of Samos and sailed directly across the Aegean Sea to Euboea. The mighty host easily took the city of Eretria, aided by treachery. The inhabitants were sent in chains to Persia, as punishment for assisting the Ionians. The expelled tyrant Hippias was with this army, and pointed out the little plain of *Marathon* as the best place for disembarking the troops in Attica.

118. The Small Forces of the Greeks. — Seeing the large number of the enemy, most of the Athenians wished to fight behind their walls. But the wiser men feared, if the city were besieged, some of the party of Hippias might betray it. Happily

Miltiades, one of the ten generals, persuaded his colleagues to march out and attack the Persians at once. The Spartans had been informed early enough of the common danger, but they delayed. An ancient law, they said, forbade them to set out on an expedition before the full moon. It was evident they did not want to help. Only one small Greek city, Plataea in Boeotia, remembered that Athens had once protected its democratic government against the oligarchs of Thebes, and sent what it could send, a thousand hoplites. These, with the ten thousand Athenians, were to face the enormous host of the mighty Persian Empire, which perhaps was ten times their number.

119. THE BATTLE OF MARATHON. — Miltiades, the Greek commander, drew out his center line as far as he could in order not to be outflanked by the Persians. The stronger wings were to do the main work. These he ordered to advance faster than the thin center. To make the work of the Persian archers useless, the Greeks broke into a swift run as soon as they were within bowshot distance from the enemy's lines. Once at close quarters their heavy weapons gave them an overwhelming advantage. Though the Persians fought bravely, their wicker shields were no protection against the thrust of the Greek spear, and their light lances and scimitars made no impression on the bronze shields and armor of the hoplites. When the Greek center gave ground, the strong wings, which had meanwhile routed the forces in their front, wheeled around, and began to close in on the Persian center. In complete disorder the Asiatics fled to their ships.

Miltiades still feared a direct attack upon Athens, and treason in the city. So the brave warriors, though worn out by the battle, marched back. The Persian fleet, which had sailed around the promontory of Sunium, indeed appeared off Athens. But the Asiatics did not care to face again the men of Marathon.

120. Importance of Marathon. — From the military standpoint the battle of Marathon was an event which showed the superiority of the Greek hoplite over the Asiatic soldier, and what is

more important, it decided whether Oriental civilization should crush out the Greek. Greek culture had in itself the germs of future progress, while the East was inert and unfit to create new forms of human culture. Greek life, literature, and thought were the starting point of the later intellectual development of Europe. This was saved by the victory of Marathon.

The victory was of more immediate importance for Athens and Greece. It took high courage to stand before the hitherto unconquered forces of mighty Persia. Athens had this courage, and showed to all Greece that the Persians could be defeated, " whereas up to this time," as says Herodotus, " the very name of Mede (Persian) had been a terror to the Hellenes." Athens herself grew to a heroic stature in an hour. The sons of the men who conquered on that field could find no odds too crushing, no prize too dazzling in the years to come.

121. Athens between the Second and Third Persian Expeditions. — Soon after Marathon, Egypt revolted against Persia and kept the forces of the empire busy. This gave the Greeks ten years to prepare for another attack, but little was done except by the Athenians. The people first began to secure themselves against internal troubles. Though Hippias had fallen at Marathon, the people feared that some aristocrat in the city might try to restore the dominion of the nobility, with the help of the Persians. Miltiades, the victor of Marathon, was the scion of a noble family. Though his patriotism could not be questioned, he had influential enemies in the popular party. When he failed to take the island of Paros, the courts sentenced him to pay the cost of the expedition, which amounted to an immense sum. It is said that the hero of Marathon died in a debtor's prison. Other men were gotten rid of by ostracism.

The man that came to the fore was *Themistocles*, no doubt a very able statesman, but one who did not scruple about the means he chose for his end. Like many others Themistocles was convinced, first, that the struggle with Persia was by no means over; and second, that the enemy must be met on sea as well as on land,

and that Athens must build a powerful fleet. His chief antagonist was *Aristides*, surnamed " the Just," a man less gifted with political farsightedness than Themistocles though a much nobler character. Aristides became a victim of ostracism. At this time silver veins were discovered in Attica, and Themistocles persuaded the people to use the revenues from them for the construction of warships. Thus in three years Athens became the greatest naval power in Hellas.

THE THIRD PERSIAN ATTACK

122. Persian Preparations. — Meanwhile the great Darius was succeeded by his less capable son *Xerxes*. The Persians resolved to return to the plan of the first expedition, and to make better preparations. A bridge of boats was thrown across the Hellespont for the army. To avoid disaster for the fleet at Mount Athos, a canal was dug back of the rocky headland, an engineering work which took three years. Supplies were provided in stations along the way. Ancient reports place the Persian army at one to two million ; probably it had about half a million ; but at any rate, it greatly outnumbered whatever forces the Greeks could muster.

123. Greek Preparations. — The danger forced the Greeks into something like unity. Athens and Sparta called an *Hellenic Congress* at Corinth, at which all the cities bound themselves by oath to aid one another. Sparta was formally recognized as leader. But messengers sent to the outlying parts of Hellas returned empty-handed. The Greeks in Magna Graecia and Sicily had their hands full with a Carthaginian invasion. The outlook was gloomy. Some cities, among them Thebes, were known to be wavering and unreliable. Even the Oracle of Delphi, which could have done so much to buoy up the hopes, gave confusing and unintelligible answers.

124. Plans of Defense. — When examining the map of Greece after page 70, the student will easily see that there were chiefly three points at which a small number might dispute the passage

of a large army: the Valley of Tempe, the Pass of Thermopylae, and the Isthmus of Corinth. The Spartans, selfishly and foolishly, insisted that resistance should be made on the isthmus, and that two thirds of Greece should be given up. They overlooked the fact that, even if the enemy were stopped at the isthmus, the Persian fleet could have landed troops at almost any point on the Peloponnesus. Reluctantly they sent a small corps to Tempe, which, however, at the approach of the enemy, retreated. At once the cities of Thessaly joined the invader with their powerful cavalry.

125. Thermopylae. — This loss of Thessaly made it evident even to the short-sighted Spartans that to abandon central Greece would mean another strengthening of the Persians. So they reluctantly concluded to make a stand at Thermopylae, a pass which was only some twenty feet wide from the rocks to the sea. The narrow strait between the land and Euboea made it possible for the Greek fleet to prevent the Persian ships from landing troops in the rear of the pass. A small force, three hundred Spartans under King *Leonidas* and a few thousand allies, was sent to Thermopylae.

Battle was joined at once on land and sea for three days. Four hundred Persian ships were wrecked by a storm, and the rest were checked by the Greek fleet in a sternly contested conflict at *Artemisium*. On land Xerxes flung column after column into the pass, to be beaten back each time in rout. On the third night *Ephialtes*, "the Judas of Greece," guided a force of Persians over a narrow mountain pass, which Leonidas had left unguarded, because he did not think the Persians could use it. When he was informed, during the night, of the Persian move, he saw that the pass was lost, and sent away all the allies. But in obedience to the law which forbade the Spartans to leave a post assigned to them, he with his three hundred continued the resistance until all had fallen to a man. If Sparta had shown little generalship so far — the loss of the pass meant the loss of central Greece in addition to Thessaly — that little band of heroes had set to Greece

an example of undaunted bravery, which has stirred the world ever since.

126. Activity of Themistocles. — The cities of central Greece joined the Persians, above all the aristocrats of Thebes. The Spartans withdrew the army to the isthmus and began the erection of a wall across it. The fleet sailed back from Artemisium to Athens. At Athens there was great confusion as to what to do. An oracle had advised that the city must be defended by wooden walls. Many applied this to the citadel of Athens, the Acropolis, which had once had wooden fortifications. Themistocles, however, persuaded the people that the wooden walls meant the ships. Yet the fleet was on the point of breaking up. The commanders of the various detachments wished to sail home to defend their own cities. The Spartan admiral was bent upon retiring to some port in the Peloponnesus. With great difficulty Themistocles, whose view was anyhow of great weight, entreated them at least to give their aid in removing the inhabitants of Attica to the island of Salamis. The Persians marched into the city, and the Athenians could see from Salamis the flames that destroyed their homes and plantations, and reduced the country to a wilderness.

The Persian ships filled the wide bay east of Salamis. The Greek fleet lay anchored in the strait of Salamis between the promontories which stretch out northward towards the mainland. The sentiment was such that it might disperse any moment. Themistocles wanted it to fight a sea battle on this spot. He resorted to a very bold trick. During the night he sent a trustworthy slave to Xerxes with a note. The Greeks, he said, were on the point of sailing to their homes. Should they accomplish this, Xerxes would be obliged to pursue each squadron individually, while now he had them all in one trap, provided he would block up the passage toward the southwest. During that night Aristides, who had been recalled from banishment, arrived in Salamis and reported that the southwest passage was closed. Xerxes had himself gone into the trap. There was now no choice left to the Greeks. They had to fight. Xerxes had a throne erected

for himself on a favorable point of the mainland, from which to witness the victory of his armament and the end of Greek power. Things turned out differently.

127. THE NAVAL BATTLE OF SALAMIS, 480 B.C. — The place was very unfavorable for the masses of the Persian ships. Worse than this, neither sailors nor commanders thought of

G, the Greek fleet at Salamis. *P*, the Persian fleet. *X*, the throne of Xerxes. (The Long Walls were not built until later; see § 138.)

meeting with any serious resistance, and orders had been given carelessly. The first Persian lines, finding themselves fiercely attacked, began to fall back while the lines in the rear pressed forward. The Greeks knew exactly what to do, and they did it. They worked terrible havoc in the jam caused by the confusion in the Persian lines and the narrowness of the place. Ship after

ship went down to the bottom or foundered on the cliffs. The sea disappeared under the bodies of the slain and the wreckage of the vessels. The struggle lasted from morning to night. The Great King had seen his ships sail proudly into the strait.

> "He counted them at break of day —
> And when the sun set, where were they?"
> — Byron.

The Greeks expected the battle would be renewed the following day. But Xerxes gave up all hope. With the remainder of his fleet — three hundred out of the fifteen hundred he had brought from Asia — he stole away in the night and took the shortest route to Asia Minor. (See *Ancient World,* note on page 200 on Greek warships.)

128. Athenians and Spartans after the Battle of Salamis. — An army of several hundred thousand Persians remained in Greece under the old commander Mardonius. For the time being, it withdrew to Thessaly for the winter quarters, to renew the war the following spring. Mardonius, realizing that the Athenians had been the soul of Greek resistance, tried to win them over. He offered them an alliance under the most favorable terms and promised to rebuild their city at the expense of Persia. The Spartans were terrified. They sent a messenger to entreat them not to desert the cause of Hellas. When the messenger arrived, the Athenians had already refused Mardonius' offer. They now asked the Spartans to take the field early enough so that Athens need not be abandoned without battle. The Spartans gave the promise but did not keep it. Mardonius approached rapidly, destroyed what had been built up in Athens, and devastated Attica frightfully. He then retreated to the plains of Boeotia.

129. THE BATTLE OF PLATAEA, 479 B.C. — Sparta still clung to her stupid plan of defending only the Peloponnesus. However, the representations of some of her own allies made the ephors see the uselessness of a wall across the isthmus, should Athens be forced into an alliance with Persia. To the surprise of the Athenian ambassadors in Sparta, who had given

up all hope, Sparta sent fifty thousand Peloponnesians northward. The contingents of Athens and other cities brought the total up to about 100,000. These fought near the little town of Plataea against a threefold number of Persians. Spartan valor and Athenian skill and dash won the victory. Mardonius himself fell, and the battle ended in a massacre. It is said that out of 260,000 Persians only 3000 returned to Asia.

130. Importance of the Greek Victories. — What was said of the importance of Marathon is much more true of Salamis and Plataea. Marathon saved Greece and Europe for the time being. Salamis and Plataea saved them for all time to come. Without Marathon there would have been no further victories. After Salamis and Plataea no more were needed. No Persian fleet ever again sailed from Asiatic ports to reach the coasts of European Hellas. No army ever again set out to devastate the ancient "land of the free and home of the brave." — On the same day, it is said, on which the Persian fleet went down in complete defeat, the Greeks of Sicily, too, won a decisive victory over the Carthaginians at *Himera*, which for a time closed the struggle between the Hellenes and Orientals in the west.

To the Greeks themselves their victory opened a new epoch. They were victors over the greatest world empire. They had conquered because they were animated by love of country and love of their free political institutions. The war was each man's own affair. They fought for no despot, as did the Persian soldiers. Unlimited confidence gave them still greater power. The matchless bloom of Greek art and thought, in the next two generations, had its roots in the achievements of these immortal battles.

Athens in particular gained the most. Spartan shortsightedness and selfishness had become evident. Nobody could deny that the victories had been won because of the intellectual leadership, the unselfish patriotism, and splendid energy of the Athenians. This prepared the time when Athens was to take over the political leadership of Greece.

CHAPTER XII

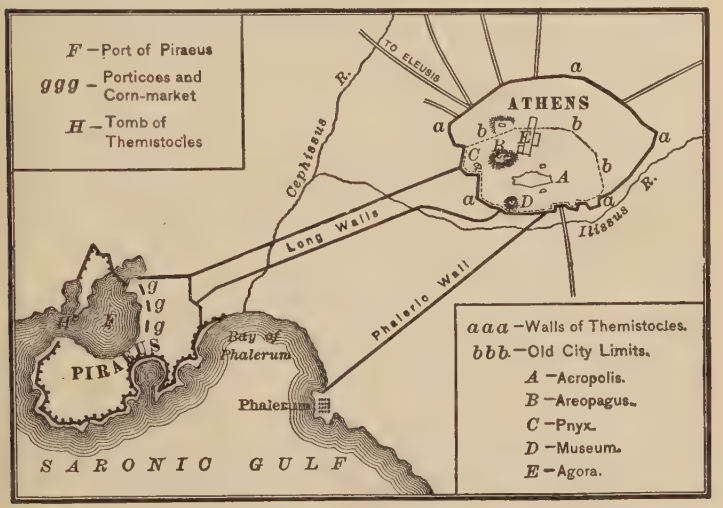
ATHENIAN LEADERSHIP FROM THE PERSIAN WARS TO THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

BEGINNING AND GROWTH OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

131. Athens Fortified. — If Athens was the soul of the Greek resistance against the Persians, Themistocles was the soul of Athens. He had started and guided its actions. To him it was due that Athens possessed the fleet, without which the naval power of all the rest of Greece would have been helpless (§ 121). He now continued his policy. Athens needed city walls. Themistocles persuaded the people to commence their building even before they had restored their own habitations. He knew that Sparta would oppose this move, because she wanted no fortifications outside the Peloponnesus, and that she might even use force to prevent the construction. So the Athenians worked with feverish haste, everybody — men, women, children, and slaves. No material was too precious. Stones were taken from the temples, monuments from the burial grounds. To gain time and hoodwink the Spartans, Themistocles had recourse to wiles. (See *Ancient World*, § 184.) He succeeded. The city walls of Athens were finished, to the discomfiture of Sparta and other jealous cities, before anybody could interfere.

132. The Piraeus. — Themistocles was not yet content. Athens lay some three miles from the shore. Originally Athens used as a harbor the open roadstead of Phalerum, but shortly before the Third Persian War, when Athens was building its fleet, Themistocles had also taken care that the smaller bay of Piraeus be improved. This gave the city a much better harbor. Now he insisted that it should be fortified, so that in case of an attack

by sea it could be easily defended. This was done in such a way that *Athens now possessed two walled cities*, each four or five miles in circuit, and some four miles apart. At the same time the building of twenty ships every year was to go on. The excellent harbor with its facilities and its security at once brought back the throngs of alien merchants who had fled before the Persian attacks.



Athens and Its Ports

133. The Double Battle of Mycale. — The union of all Greek states under the leadership of Sparta still continued. In 479 a Greek fleet under a Spartan admiral crossed the Aegean Sea. On the very day on which the Persian army was annihilated at Plataea, these forces won a double victory at Mycale, one on sea and one on land. This was the signal for the Ionian cities to revolt against Persia. But the Spartan admiral refused to come to their aid. When the Athenians, to whom belonged three fifths of the fleet, insisted on supporting the Ionians, the Spartans sailed away, leaving the Athenians to assist the Ionians as best

they could. Joyously the Athenian contingent undertook the task.

134. Athens Becomes Head of the League. — The next spring the Spartans thought better of the matter. Unfortunately for them, they sent as admiral *Pausanias*, who had commanded at Plataea, and who now, proud of that glory, treated the allies with haughty contempt. He was recalled, accused of treasonable negotiations with Persia, and condemned to death. The allies, however, refused to accept another commander from Sparta. Thereupon Sparta and the Peloponnesian league (§ 114) withdrew entirely from the alliance and took no further part in the war against the common foe. *Thus Athens rose to the leadership.*

135. The Confederacy of Delos. — The alliance, now freed from the discordant element of the Spartans, organized along more definite lines. Each member was to contribute a certain number of ships and a certain amount of money every year. Athens, which furnished overwhelmingly the largest number of ships, was to be the leader to appoint the admirals and generals, and to preside in the yearly congresses in which every city (or island), large or small, had one vote. The congress was to be held and the common treasury located on the island of Delos. Aristides was appointed to fix both the number of ships and the fees for each individual city, and he delivered himself of this honorable duty to the full satisfaction of all concerned. His tact, courtesy, and unselfishness contributed greatly to make the idea of this new league generally popular. The Confederacy of Delos consisted mainly of Ionian cities and islands, which were principally interested in commerce and navigation. It thus contrasted with the Spartan inland league of the Peloponnesus.

The chief military hero was *Cimon*, son of Miltiades. (See *D. R.*, I, No. 74.) He cleared one island and city after another of the Persian garrison, until the whole region of the Aegean Sea was free. In 466 he even went beyond the Aegean and defeated the Persians completely in the large battle on the *Eu-*

rymedon in Pamphylia. The confederacy grew rapidly. At one time it is said to have embraced about a thousand cities.

136. How the Confederacy Became an Empire. — Soon some cities preferred to pay money rather than furnish warships. Nor did many care to be represented in the congresses. The Athenians were highly pleased with this change of things. It left the control of all affairs entirely to them. Here and there cities refused to contribute at all. They forgot that the Aegean remained free of the Persians for no other reason than because it was patrolled by the Athenian fleet. Athens looked upon these delinquents as rebels, sent its warships against them and reduced them by force to "obedience." It took away their fleets, dismantled their fortifications, and forbade them to conclude treaties of any kind with any other state. Before long even the loyal cities found themselves treated as subjects. The treasury was transferred from Delos to Athens; the courts of the cities were made subject to the Athenian courts, and the Athenian Assembly managed all affairs without consulting the cities. However, Athens continued to perform faithfully the work for which the original confederacy had been created. It kept the Persians out of the Aegean, and assisted the people of the various cities in maintaining democratic constitutions against aristocratic and oligarchic tendencies. *Thus the Confederacy of Delos had become an empire with Athens for its dominant state.* The islands of Lesbos, Chios, and Samos were the only ones that had not become subject states.

FIRST PERIOD OF STRIFE BETWEEN ATHENS AND SPARTA

137. Beginnings of the Quarrel. — The island of Thasos revolted against Athens and applied to Sparta for help. While the Spartans armed secretly with a view of invading Attica, an earthquake destroyed part of Sparta and threw the whole of Laconia into confusion. The Helots and Messenians seized the opportunity and rose so formidably that the Spartans even cried to Athens for assistance. Prompted by Cimon the Athenians

dispatched an army. When it arrived, the Spartans had changed their mind. Without any reason they suspected it had come to aid the Helots, and sent it home with insult. This roused great indignation at Athens. Cimon was ostracized. His place as the most prominent citizen was taken by *Pericles*, one of the greatest statesmen of all times.

The insurrection centered around the fortress of Ithome in Messenia, which the Spartans were unable to take. They finally allowed the inhabitants of Ithome to leave it unmolested and to emigrate. Athens gave them the city of Naupactus which had just been conquered and thus gained a new and faithful ally.

138. Hostilities. — Pericles endeavored to win allies in continental Greece in addition to the maritime empire. Thessaly, with its excellent cavalry, and Megara, which held the key to the isthmus, and other states really joined Attica. The war against the Persians was by no means forgotten. An enormous armament, consisting of 250 vessels and some 40,000 soldiers and sailors, sailed to Egypt to assist that country in a revolution against the Great King. The enmity with Sparta now became open war. An Athenian fleet surprised the Laconian dockyards and gave them to the flames. Pericles began setting up democracies in the towns of Boeotia. Sparta sent an army for the protection of the aristocrats, which won one battle and was decisively beaten in a second. At the same time the Athenians had a war on hand with Aegina and Corinth, both of which had lost much of their trade after the establishment of the Athenian Empire. Then came the stunning news that the whole armament sent to Egypt was entirely destroyed after great initial successes. Euboea revolted. Megara fell away and joined the Peloponnesian League. In Boeotia the aristocrats got the upper hand, and that country was lost for Athens. It is most remarkable how, in spite of such blows, the Athenians could keep up their buoyant spirit. They conquered Aegina and destroyed its fortifications. By skillful and energetic movements Pericles forced a Spartan army, which had invaded Attica, to withdraw without a battle. He then

reconquered Euboea and settled there a new contingent of cleruchs (§ 107). During this period of storm and stress, Athens completed her fortifications by building the "Long Walls" which connected the Piraeus with the city. (See map on page 113.) They made Athens absolutely safe for a siege, as long as she kept her supremacy on the sea.

139. Thirty Years' Peace. — Both parties were tired of war. In 445 Pericles negotiated a peace of thirty years with Sparta. Athens had lost most of her allies in central Greece, but retained her entire maritime empire. *The peace, which was really not more than a truce, lasted fifteen years, which was a time of blessing for Athens.*

CHAPTER XIII

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE AND ITS CAPITAL IN PEACE

THE GOVERNMENT

140. Population and Revenue of the State. — The Athenian Empire probably counted some three million people. Attica itself had 300,000, nearly half of whom were slaves. Some 35,000 citizens were able to bear arms. There were, besides, the cleruchs (§ 107), that is, citizens with full rights who had been settled outside of Attica. Though these numbers are small if compared with the seventy or more millions of the Persian Empire, we have seen what they meant in a contest of arms. The Athenian Empire probably was the mightiest state of its time.

From mines and other state property, from harbor dues and taxes of the subject cities the empire drew about a million dollars. Athens treated all this money as her own and used it also for the beautification of the capital. She fulfilled, however, all her duties faithfully. The cities could not even have kept down piracy for the money they paid to Athens. The taxes of the Asiatic cities were only one sixth of what they had been paying to the Persians.

141. Archons and Generals. — After the abolition of royalty, ten *archons* acted as supreme magistrates. Their power was limited under Clisthenes by the introduction of the office of the ten *generals* (§ 108, 3). Gradually, more by custom than by laws, the powers of the generals increased greatly at the expense of the archons. The cause of this change was the fact that Athens was obliged to keep up a considerable fleet and to be ready for all kinds of warlike operations if she meant to fulfill her duties as head of her empire. The generals were commanders in chief of

the contingents of the ten tribes. They controlled the administration of army and navy, appointed the captains, conducted the levy of the soldiers, had charge of the depots of ammunition and

ATHENS

This shows some structures of the Roman period. The term "stoa," which appears so often in this map, means "porch" or portico. These porticoes were inclosed by columns, and their fronts along the Agora formed a succession of colonnades. Only a few of the famous buildings can be shown in a map like this. The Agora was the great public square, or open market place, surrounded by shops and porticoes. It was the busiest spot in Athens, the center of the commercial and social life of the city, where men met their friends for business or for pleasure.

weapons, collected the property tax, and took a prominent part in the negotiations with foreign powers. In the Assembly they might at any moment introduce proposals, which had to be taken up immediately. They could even summon extraor-

dinary sessions of the Assembly. The archons had little left beyond honorary duties connected with religion. Even the war-archon had lost all power in military affairs. The first archon, however, always enjoyed the distinction that the year was named after him.

142. The Council of Five Hundred originally prepared all measures which were to come before the Assembly. By the time we speak of, any citizen present at the Assembly might propose new matter, and if the Assembly approved of its being taken up, it was referred to the Council to report on at the next session. Our United States Senate has a special committee for financial laws, another one for foreign relations, another one for matters of war. All these functions were combined in the Council of Five Hundred. The Council, moreover, and this was one of its heaviest duties, kept strict supervision over the expenditures, examined bills and receipts, and saw that all moneys were expended according to law. To be a councilor was no sinecure. The councilors were appointed by lot from the candidates whom each of the hundred demes (§ 108) had proposed.

143. The Assembly. — This consisted of all male citizens who cared to be personally present (§ 108, 3). The Assembly was really the head of the state. All magistrates were responsible to it, and it could at any time depose them, or bring them to trial, or interfere with the conduct of any business. Special officials summoned it forty times a year for regular meetings, and for extraordinary meetings as often as they were required. They also published, five days before every regular meeting, a program of the business to be transacted. But the Assembly was not bound to adhere to it. Several times a year a vote was taken to decide whether the officials were carrying on their business correctly. Though the decrees of the Assembly were to conform to the existing laws, any law could be attacked by a citizen, and if the Assembly approved of the reasons against it, the matter was referred to a board of a thousand "lawgivers," who were at

liberty by their final vote either to uphold the old law, or to modify it, or to substitute a new one.

144. The Law Courts. — In the Athenian law courts there was no difference between judges and jurymen. The jurymen not only decided the question whether or not the man was guilty; they also determined the penalty. Every year six thousand jurors were appointed by lot from those who offered themselves for the service (mostly older men past the age of hard work). A thousand were held in reserve. Each of the ten Athenian law courts consisted of five hundred jurors with a president. They decided criminal cases, civil cases (*i.e.*, such as refer to property), and political disputes. (Cases of murder were tried by the Areopagus, § 104.) The decision was given by secret ballot, and there was no appeal to any higher court.

145. Leaders of the People. — The people gathered in the Assembly would naturally look for guidance. They had their chosen magistrates, and certainly gave them their confidence. But as a matter of fact, there was commonly some prominent citizen on whom they principally relied, a man who enjoyed the reputation of unselfishness and ability. Such men could exercise an influence much greater than many officials. They could sway the Assembly as they wished. They were popularly styled *demagogues*, "leaders of the people."

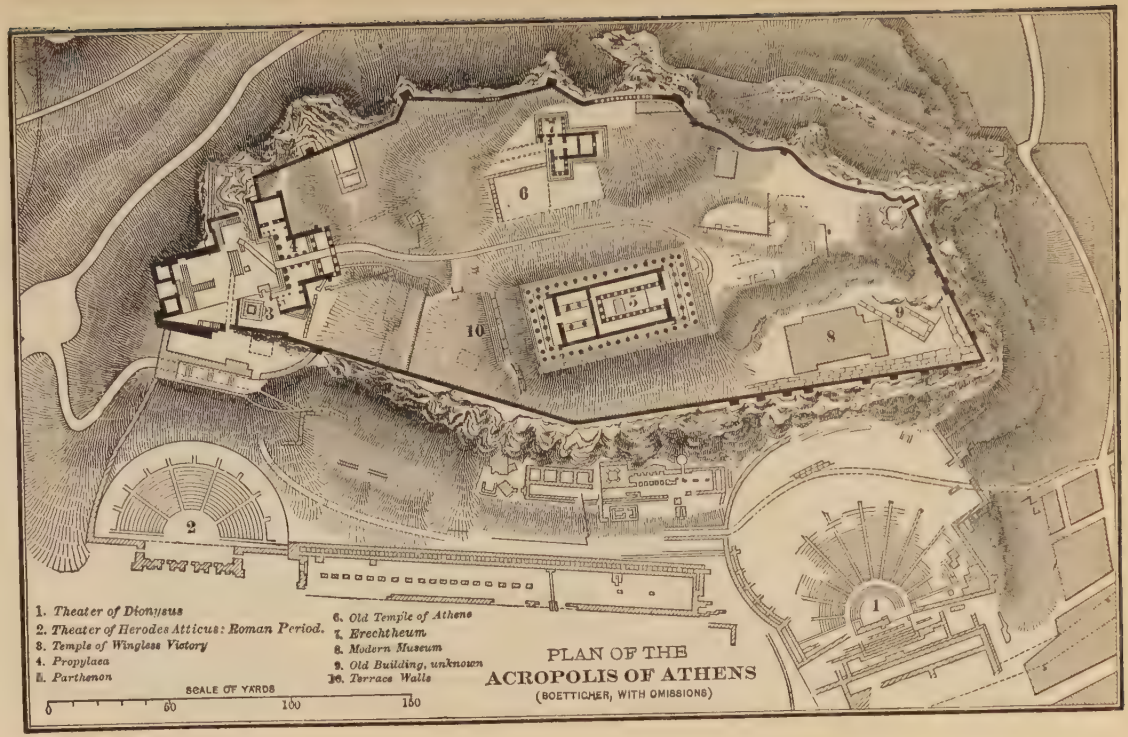
Pericles, mentioned several times, was the demagogue of his time. For a quarter of a century he ruled the commonwealth of Athens almost as absolutely as any tyrant had ever done. Though he was often elected general, he owed his power to his personal ability alone. With rare insight he perceived what enterprises would promote the greatness and glory of Athens; and with an eloquence, equally rare, he always knew how to make even hard things acceptable to the people. He had antagonists, who opposed the measures suggested by him. But he always carried the Assembly with him by the force of his reasoning, or, sometimes, by the thunder of his voice. Under his direction Athens became a mighty and magnificent city. Those

who after his death tried to step into his shoes were not his equals.

146. Political Training. — Some 20,000 men, more than half of the body of male citizens, were constantly in the pay of the commonwealth, either as soldiers or as civil officers. Among the latter were the 6000 jurymen, the five hundred councilmen, then the army of city officials, harbor masters, officials of the treasury department, collectors of taxes and harbor dues, both in Athens and throughout the empire. The salaries of these men were not large. The pay of the jurymen for a session just sufficed to support a frugal man for one day. The highest offices were not salaried at all. It was the duty towards the state that kept these men at their tasks. This naturally generated a high degree of public-spiritedness, a dominating desire for the city's greatness, a kind of forgetfulness of self. (We do not read of defraudations of public moneys, though they probably happened, partly because there was too much inspection and examining and auditing and counter-inspection of all those offices where money was handled.) We may not like the idea that the assembly of the common people decided the most weighty matters. But unquestionably " the Athenian, by constantly hearing questions of foreign policy and domestic administration argued by the greatest orators the world ever saw, received a political training which nothing else in the history of mankind has been found to equal." " The Assembly was an assembly of citizens, of average citizens without sifting or selection; but it was an assembly of citizens among whom the average stood higher than it ever did in any other state."

ATHENS AS THE PRINCIPAL HOME OF GREEK CIVILIZATION

Greek civilization, more or less uniform all through Hellas, had nowhere reached so high a degree as it did at Athens during Pericles' administration and greatly through his encouragement and support. Its perfection can nowhere be better realized than in the culture of that imperial city.


1. Theater of Dionysus
2. Theater of Herodes Atticus: Roman Period.
3. Temple of Wingless Victory
4. Propylaea
5. Parthenon
6. Old Temple of Athene
7. Erechtheum
8. Modern Museum
9. Old Building, unknown
10. Terrace Walls
SCALE OF YARDS
0 50 100 150
PLAN OF THE
ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS
(BOETTICHER, WITH OMISSIONS)

147. Architecture and Sculpture. — Athens became the most beautiful city of the world, so that ever since her mere ruins have enthralled the admiration of men. Under the charge of the greatest artists arose temples, colonnades, porticoes, inimitable to this day.

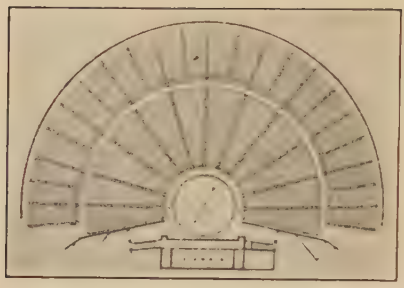
The center of architectural splendor was the *Acropolis*, formerly a strong fortress upon a steep hill. It was now exclusively devoted to religion and art. A stately stairway of sixty marble

The Acropolis
Restoration by Rehlender.

steps led to a series of colonnades and porticoes (the *Propylaea*) from which the visitor emerged upon the leveled top of the hill, to find himself surrounded by temples and statues, any one of which might make the fame of the proudest modern city. The eyes were attracted above all by the *Parthenon* (Maiden's Chamber), the temple of the virgin goddess Athene. It remains absolutely peerless in its majesty and loveliness among the buildings of the world. It was built in the Doric style, not very large, some 250 feet by 100. The effect was due not to the sublimity

THE PARTHENON

Above: As it is to-day. *Below:* A restoration.



Ground Plan of the Theater of Epidaurus

Theater of Epidaurus To-day

To the right, foundations of the stage building. The circle in front of it was a sort of subordinate stage for the chorus, which by songs, dances, and processions supported the action of the play.

and grandeur of vast masses, but to the perfection of proportion to exquisite beauty of line, and to the delicacy and profusion of ornament. Fifty large statues adorned the pediment (see illustration, page 125), and nearly 500 different figures were carved upon the frieze. Many of the sculptures were the work of Phidias, who besides produced a gigantic bronze statue of Athene, which stood upon the Acropolis, and a much more beautiful one of gold and ivory inside the Parthenon.

SOPHOCLES
A statue in the Lateran Museum.

148. The Drama and the Theater. — As the tenth century was the epic age of Hellas, and the seventh and sixth centuries the lyric (§ 111), so with the fifth century begins the dramatic age. The great literary productions of this time are *tragedies*, that is, plays of a solemn and serious character, and teaching some high moral doctrine. The most famous tragic poets are Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, all of Athens. Their tragedies, of which only thirty-one survive, are all high-class plays, though very simple in their external make-up. *Comedies*, too, came into vogue, the sole purpose of which was to amuse and entertain. The Greek comedy frequently was of a low and coarse character, and was abused for political purposes; for instance, to ridicule men like Pericles or Socrates. The comedies were given between the acts of the tragedies as a sort of relaxation. The Greeks were very fond of their classic tragedies. Pericles made it possible for every citizen to have free access to these noble performances.

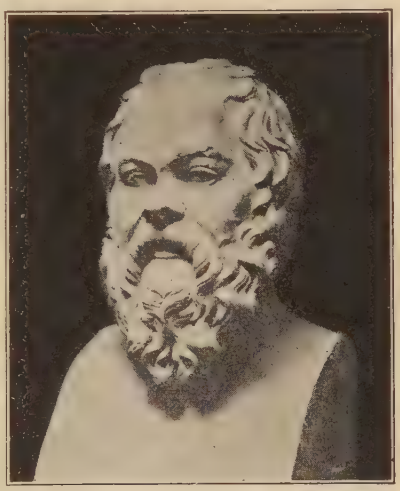
Every Greek city had its theater. A theater consisted of rows of seats, rising in tiers in a semicircular shape, commonly cut into the rock of a hillside — and a building of moderate size with the open stage standing in front of the seats. (See the pictures on page 126.)

149. Oratory was practiced and studied in all Greek cities, but in none more zealously than in Athens. It was needed in the courts and in the political meetings. Unfortunately, the great Pericles did not preserve his orations, which so often held the vast gathering spellbound. But we have still many of the speeches of *Demosthenes*, of the next century, which excel in the arrangement of the matter and the polished beauty of language. Demosthenes is considered the greatest orator of the world. He was the model of Cicero, the famous Roman. The orations of both are still studied in our schools.

150. History. — At this time lived the father of Greek history-writing, *Herodotus*, born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, and a personal friend of Pericles. Among other works he wrote a history of the Persian Wars. *Thucydides*, an Athenian, the historian of the Peloponnesian War, is the first "scientific" historian.

151. Philosophy, too, saw a rapid development during the age of Pericles, and Athens was its most important home. *Anaxagoras* of Ionia, a friend of Pericles, taught that the ruling principle in the universe was Mind: "In the beginning all things were chaos; then came Intelligence and set all in order." Others tried to answer the question, "How does man know about the universe?" Since their explanations were not very satisfactory, the class of the *Sophists* came up. They said that we can know nothing and must be satisfied with appearances. The Sophists also taught the art of oratory, and were the first to demand pay for their instruction. They were accused of teaching youth "how to make the worse appear the better reason," and the name "sophists" received an evil significance. But many Sophists were really good thinkers.

152. Socrates. — Few Greeks had so wholesome and lasting an influence on their fellow men as did Socrates, who blazed the way for a new and important school of philosophy. He made it his vocation to gather around him young men, and instruct them how to lead good moral lives. Unlike other philosophers he accepted nothing for his teaching, though only great frugality enabled him to live on the revenue of his little sculpture shop without working himself. His numerous antagonists, chiefly the Sophists, he put to shame by asking them innocent-looking questions, and showing how foolish their answers were, much to the merriment of his numerous friends. He discoursed preferably on the problem how one must live in order to be a truly good man. By independent thinking he moreover convinced himself that man's soul is vastly different from his body; that it cannot die; that there must be a life of bliss after death for those who lead a good life. He also approached very closely to the belief in one God. His way of teaching, the "Socratic method," consisted in proposing questions to his disciples, and in leading them with sympathetic kindness to see, or rather to find out for themselves, the truth he wished to bring home to them. Socrates left no writings. What we know of him we owe to his devoted friends and disciples, especially Xenophon and Plato. The latter became one of the greatest philosophers of the world. Plato's



SOCRATES

From a statue in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

immortal philosophy (§ 188) grew out of the doctrines of his teacher Socrates.

Socrates had many enemies who could not brook his stern preaching of morality. They finally trumped up a charge against him. One of the Athenian Courts of Five Hundred condemned him to drink the poison cup. When asked by his followers how they should bury him, he replied, "Bury ME? you mean to say, bury my body; my body is not I. You will not succeed in burying ME."

Summary. — The amazing extent and intensity of Athenian culture overpower imagination. Artists, philosophers, and writers swarmed to Athens. The names that have been mentioned give only a faint impression of the splendid throngs of brilliant poets, artists, philosophers, and orators who met each other in the public halls, the houses of the great, and in every street. "Never before or since," says a modern critic, "has life so richly developed as it developed in the beautiful city which lay at the feet of the virgin goddess."

153. Limitations. — This brilliant life of Hellenic culture had its limitations.

(*a*) *It rested on slavery.* As already stated, half the population consisted of slaves, who performed the more menial labor in city and country, while the citizens lived for politics and, if necessary, warfare. Nobody thought of educating them. They were white people, many of them Greeks. On the whole they were not treated very harshly, though those laboring in the public mines succumbed in large numbers to the hardships.

(*b*) *Greek culture was for men only.* Very little education was given to girls. The women of the better classes were rarely seen on the street. They never met other men than their relatives. The lower classes were forced by circumstances to permit their women a larger amount of freedom. (See picture on page 131.)

(*c*) *Culture did not extend to moral conduct.* Religion merely demanded that religious festivals, processions, sacrifices, etc., be kept regularly, and this was done at Athens with a quite uncommon splendor. Moral ideas are to be sought in the works of

poets (dramatists, for instance) and philosophers. The Greeks accepted a rather unlimited search for pleasures as unobjectionable. Self-sacrifice had little place in their moral code. They lacked altogether the Jewish and Christian sense of sin. Their chief motive for right conduct, as far as it went, was a certain natural respect for moderation. Individual characters at once lofty and lovable were not numerous. In beautiful Hellas, in the most cultured population, grew up that moral degradation which in due time was to spread along the shores of the Mediterranean.

WOMEN AT THE WELL

The jar of one is just being filled. Two, whose jars are filled, cannot get away before discussing the latest gossip. One who has just arrived is surprised at what she hears. Note difference in gestures, and slight difference in dress. These women of course are of the poorer classes.

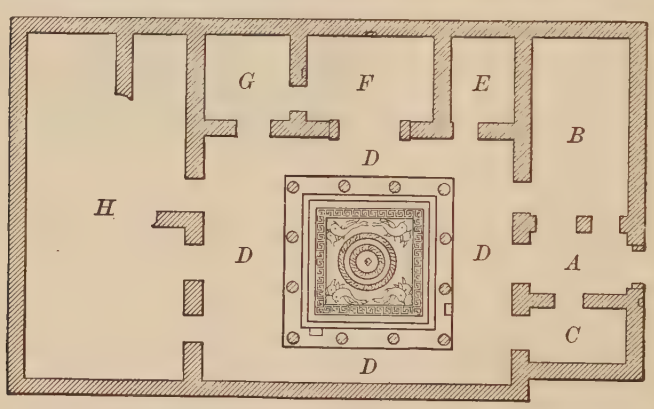
(*d*) *Greek science did not try to find out the truths of nature by experiment.* The ancients had chiefly such knowledge of the world about them as they had chanced upon. Nor did they add anything to what knowledge of nature men possessed before them. This is one of the causes of the incredible simplicity of their lives. Even the best houses were without plumbing or drains of any sort, the clothes without buttons or even hook and eye. This fact, however, is rather instructive than bewildering. There is a higher civilization, more essential than material achievements. (See *H. T. F.*, "Civilization.") The average Athenian no doubt excelled the average man of our times in brain power, and the Greek mind performed wonders in literature and art and philosophy.

The lack of control over nature, however, had another serious drawback. Without our modern inventions and machinery, it has never been possible for man to produce wealth fast enough so that many could take sufficient leisure for a more refined living.

Even with us too much wealth remains in the hands of a proportionately small number of the very rich. With the Greeks it was still less possible to give to many an ample share. There was too little to go around.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE AGE OF PERICLES

154. The houses were very simple in comparison with ours. A man thought his house of little account. It was merely a place to keep his women folk and little children and his movable



PLAN OF A FIFTH-CENTURY HOUSE ON THE ISLAND OF DELOS

(After Gardiner and Jevons.) *A*, small vestibule; *B*, room for unknown purpose; *C*, porter's lodge; *D*, court (about 42 × 34 feet), covered, where the letter *D* stands, by a roof which was supported by the walls of the court and by the twelve columns marked towards the center; the space enclosed by the columns was open to the sky, and here the floor was adorned with mosaics; *E*, *F*, *G*, rooms for various purposes (see text); *H*, dining room with kitchen; in upper right-hand corner recess for the chimney. There were two small cellars under part of the court. (See *D. R.*, I, Nos. 76–80 and 88–97.)

property, and to eat and sleep in. His real life was spent outside. The poor man's house was a one-story mud hut with one or two, or perhaps three rooms. Even a "well-to-do" house was merely a wooden frame covered with sun-dried clay. Houses were built

flush with the street, and on a level with it — without even a sidewalk or steps between. The door, too, usually opened out, so that passers-by were liable to bumps, unless they kept well in the middle of the narrow street.

The principal room was a square court open to the sky, but partly covered on one or several or all four sides by a roof supported by columns. From this court several doors opened into the dining room with a kitchen, and into other rooms used for storage or sleeping. This was the men's section. If the owner could afford it, there was another section arranged in a similar fashion for the women. This, however, often formed a second story. Sometimes the house had a small garden in the rear. The few windows were filled with a close wooden lattice.

Women at Their Music
(From a vase painting.)

155. Streets. — Splendid as were the public portions of Athens, the residence streets were narrow and irregular, hardly more than crooked dark alleys. They had no pavement, and they were littered with all the filth and refuse from the houses. It was in later times that the wealthy built more comfortably on the hills near the city.

156. The Family. — Greek laws recognized only "monogamous" marriages, though this does not mean that they came up in any way to the perfection of Christian matrimony. We no longer find lovely pictures of family life as in former times. To the age of seven, boys and girls lived together in the women's apartment. Then the boy began his school life and received his intellectual and military training. The girl was instructed in the household duties, and if the family could afford it she spent a

great deal of her time at music and play. She did not leave the house except on some festival occasion, when she walked with the maidens of the city in religious processions. Practically, her childhood lasted until she married. She was not asked in the choice of her partner for life. The parents settled this matter for her. Law and public opinion allowed a father to expose a newborn child to die. Divorce was lawful, and the husband easily found a sufficient plea for it.

157. Dress. — The pictures and sculptures represent women dressed in flowing garments, fastened at the shoulder with clasp-pins and gathered in graceful folds at the waist. The chief article of men's dress was a shirt of linen or wool, which fell about to the knees, and was often clasped with a girdle. Over this they threw a long mantle falling in folds to the feet. (See picture on page 127.) They commonly wore sandals, though there was a great variety of footgear.

158. Occupations. — Most of the hand labor consisted of *tilling the soil*. The Greek farmer manured his field skillfully, but otherwise he made no advance over the Egyptian peasant. Some districts, like Attica and Corinth, did not furnish food enough for their population. They imported grain from other parts of Hellas, from Thrace, or from Egypt. They could do so, because they also exported their own manufactures. In Pericles' time appeared factories, that is, places where certain articles were manufactured in large quantities. As there were no machines, this could be done only by multiplying the workers, who were commonly slaves. Commerce required much labor, too, for the building and loading and unloading of the ships. *Trades and handicrafts* were very numerous. There were smiths and carpenters, dyers, goldsmiths, ivory workers, painters, embroiderers, turners, wagoners, rope-makers, flaxworkers, tanners, shoemakers, and miners, and these men commonly took a noble pride in their work. Many of them were in the pay of the artist who produced those admirable buildings and other works of art. Their pay was usually very small, but a Greek needed little to live.

159. The men of leisure looked with disdain upon the working classes. Slave labor had degraded labor in general. The ideal of the Greek gentleman was to have his revenue without being obliged to work for it. After his very frugal breakfast, he would leave his house to find his friends and to walk with them in the shaded arcades of the market place and discuss matters of business or politics. About noon he would return home for a light lunch, and perhaps take a short rest; or he would prepare the

SCHOOL SCENE

(From a bowl painting.) One teacher is showing how to use the flute. Another is correcting a boy's exercises. The seated bearded man is a "pedagogue."

speech he wished to deliver at the next Assembly. If he were interested in literature or philosophy, he would take to his rolls of papyrus. He would not omit the daily bath, either at home or in some public bathing house, where at the same time he held conversation with acquaintances. He took his principal meal in the evening, rarely, however, with his family. As a rule he had invited guests or was himself the guest of a friend. With playful talk, story-telling, singing, and other kinds of merrymaking the time passed often until late in the night. His life was more strenuous during the several years in which he held state offices. At other times, too, the Assembly, theater, and religious festivals

encroached considerably upon his leisure time. (For a description of an Athenian banquet see Davis's *A Day in Old Athens*, pages 181 ff.)

160. Education. — The rich man's boy went to school, accompanied by a " pedagogue." (This word means " boy-leader " ; its use for " teacher " is of later date.) He wrote his elementary exercises on tablets coated with wax. The chief subjects were the reading of Homer and music. Homer was to the Greek at once Bible, Shakespeare, and Robinson Crusoe. The study of other great poets and dramatists came later. The witnessing of the best theatrical plays and the constant sight of the noblest edifices could not but contribute to develop his taste in the most favorable manner. Regular athletic exercises also began rather early. Though they were indulged in very freely, deliberate care was taken not to have them interfere with the youth's more important mental development. When about eighteen, the youth devoted two years exclusively to certain military functions, and thus prepared himself more directly for active service in the army. The whole education was calculated to produce perfect gentlemen, with a taste for everything beautiful and worth the admiration of man, and at the same time to make him a valuable warrior for the service of his beloved city.

CHAPTER XIV

PERIOD OF DECLINE

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431–404

This war, lasting twenty-seven years, forever broke the political power of Greece. Instead of standing united against foreign foes, the two leading states of Hellas preferred to ruin each other. Yet there was by no means so much at stake in this war as had been the case in the Persian Wars. Hellenic culture, though greatly retarded and hampered by the devastations of this war, and lacking the brilliant inspiration of the Athens of Pericles, went on uninterrupted.

161. The cause of the war was the growing jealousy between Athens and Sparta. Athens had nobly and efficiently championed the interests of Hellas at large, and was now in possession of a well-governed empire. She had gained the power which Sparta had lost through her many blunders. Sparta keenly felt the humiliation. While Athens had risen by her superior intellectuality, Sparta could think of no other means to regain her prestige than war and physical destruction. — As in most wars commercial rivalry came in also. In consequence of the enormous development of Athenian commerce, Corinth had lost nearly all her trade with the Aegean lands, and she foresaw that she would also lose the trade with the western coast of Greece. These are the real reasons for the disastrous war.

162. The Affair of Corcyra. — This city had been founded by Corinth and was now next to it in commerce and naval power. It came to blows with the mother city, and asked to be admitted into the Athenian League. Athens sent a small squadron to its aid. Corinth now complained to Sparta. Negotiations followed

between Sparta and Athens. The Corcyra affair fell out of sight. Sparta, with an air of unselfish righteousness, posed as the champion of Hellenic liberty against tyrant Athens, and demanded that Athens "set the Aegean cities free." Upon the suggestion of Pericles, Athens sent a dignified refusal, which, however, as he plainly told the Assembly, meant war. *Thus, in 431 began the Peloponnesian War.*

The Corcyra affair was merely its *occasion*, not its cause. Had there been nothing else, that affair would have been adjusted "diplomatically" by peaceful means. But the political world of Hellas was full of inflammable material, which needed only a spark to be set on fire.

163. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR consists of three distinct periods: (1) the Ten Years' War, 431–421; (2) the Sicilian Expedition, 418–413; (3) the Last Nine Years, 413–404. It is impossible to give in our brief synopsis an adequate idea of the deeds of noble patriotism, bravery, and able generalship on the one hand, and on the other, of the mean selfishness, treachery, destruction of property and human life, and of the private and public demoralization which accompanied this suicidal war.

164. The Ten Years' War. — The Spartans began the war by invading Athens, and forcing the rural population to flee into the city, where they found protection between the Long Walls. They could not prevent the provisioning of Athens by the fleet. The Athenians with their fleet ravaged the coast of the Peloponnesus. This was repeated year after year.

In the second year a plague swept over Greece, which worked a terrible havoc in the dreadfully congested city of Athens. The refugees were living under the most unwholesome conditions. Death raged among them without check. The bodies of dying men lay one upon another. Half-dead creatures reeled about the streets, poisoning all the fountains and wells in their longing for water. The pestilence returned each summer for several years, and destroyed one fourth of the population. The greatest loss it inflicted upon Athens was the death of Pericles, who succumbed to it in the third year of the war, at a time when the Athenians

more than ever needed his firm and enlightened guidance. The tanner *Cleon*, strong-willed, but rude, untrained, and unprincipled, was the chief demagogue who rose in Pericles' stead.

Sparta now caused much trouble by rousing cities of the Athenian Empire to revolt, while Athens lost much sympathy by brutally punishing those it had reconquered. Then Sparta sent a powerful army under an excellent general to the coast of Thrace, and an Athenian force, led by Cleon, was decisively defeated. Cleon himself was among the slain. The Spartans also suffered much from the war. So, in 421 a peace of fifty years was concluded by which everything was restored as it had been before the war.

165. The Sicilian Expedition. — By this time *Alcibiades*, a young man who combined a brilliant eloquence with a great power of leadership, had attracted the attention of the Athenians. Alcibiades wanted war to gain renown. He induced the Athenians to send help to some little states in Sicily which were threatened by the mighty city of Syracuse. Alcibiades was one of the commanders. In his absence he was accused by influential enemies of a crime which would be punished with death. When he became aware of this, he left the Athenian armament, fled to Sparta, and prevailed upon the Spartans to break the peace they had concluded, and send assistance to Syracuse. The Athenian expedition, owing partly to bad generalship, became a complete disaster. Two hundred fine ships and forty thousand men, among them eleven thousand Athenian hoplites, were lost.

166. The Last Nine Years. — Upon Alcibiades' suggestion, Sparta sacrificed the Asiatic Greeks to obtain the assistance of the Persians. Fleet after fleet was built for Sparta by Persian money. Persian satraps appeared again in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. In spite of several brilliant victories, the war now turned against Athens. At *Aegospotami* (Goat Rivers) the Spartan general Lysander completely defeated the Athenians, had 4000 prisoners executed, and sailed to Athens; after a terrible siege, the proud city surrendered in 404 B.C.

167. "Peace." — Corinth and Thebes demanded that Athens should be destroyed. But Sparta would not lose her as a check upon these cities. *The Athenian Empire was at an end*, however, and to the music of Peloponnesian flutes the fortifications of the Piraeus and the Long Walls were demolished. The cities formerly under Athens now passed under the political control of Sparta *and Hellas was declared free.*

SPARTAN SUPREMACY

168. Spartan Rule. — Sparta, now mistress of Greece more completely than Athens had ever been, followed her old methods. In the cities which she had "freed" from the "tyranny" of Athens, she abolished the democracies and set up boards of ten oligarchs with full power. A Spartan garrison under a "harmost" assisted them in their work of oppression, plunder, and murder. The tribute formerly paid to Athens was doubled.

During the last years of the Peloponnesian War an attempt had been made in *Athens* to restore the power of the aristocrats. The Assembly, no longer controlled by men like Pericles, had shown itself unfit to deal with matters of war and foreign relations, which require secrecy and prompt action. The aristocrats formed a Council of Four Hundred, which, however, showed itself as incompetent as the Assembly had been, except in murder and plunder. It was soon overthrown, and the old democracy restored. After the victory the Spartan conqueror established a board of thirty, called the "Thirty Tyrants," with absolute power. This reign of terror lasted only one year. In spite of Spartan protection, the Thirty were overpowered by the democratic party under the leadership of Thrasybulus. The restored democracy showed itself remarkably moderate, punishing only a few of the most guilty of the Tyrants, and granting for the rest and their adherents a general amnesty. This procedure contrasted so favorably with the cut-throat rule of the Four Hundred and the Thirty, that Athens was undisturbed in future by revolution. In other parts of Greece the people were not so

fortunate. Democracy never again was so general in Hellenic cities as it had been before the Peloponnesian War.

169. The "End" of the Persian Wars. — Inspired by her noble king *Agesilaus*, Sparta again opened hostilities against Persia. She sent an army to Asia Minor, to carry the war into the enemy's country. Agesilaus made rapid progress. But enemies arose at home. Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Argos combined against Sparta. The victorious Agesilaus had to return. *Conon*, an able Athenian general, who had entered Persian service after the downfall of Athens, and was now admiral of the mixed fleet, destroyed the Spartan fleet. He then sailed home and with Persian money restored the fortifications of his native town. After a few years of fighting, Sparta, in 387 B.C., asked Persia to act as arbiter, which meant that the Great King was to dictate the terms of peace. The Greek cities on the shore of Asia Minor he gave to himself; the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros to Athens. All other Greek cities were to be independent, that is, all leagues among them were dissolved, so that Sparta was in a position to deal with them individually.

Thus the tottering Persian Empire won back by Greek disunion and treachery what she had lost a century before through superiority of Greek arms. Besides Persia, the Spartans were the only gainers. Rightly or wrongly they retained the power over the Peloponnesian League, and also began to act as the king's police commissioners with power to see to it that the terms of the peace were carried into effect. With her brutal cunning she prevented the rise of any state to a position in which it might be dangerous to her. She did not shrink from interfering even in the interior affairs of other states.

170. Thebes' Brief Supremacy. — The high-handed manner in which Sparta interfered in the affairs of Thebes roused that city to a determined resistance under an able leader, the noble-hearted Epaminondas. By his superior generalship Epaminondas defeated the Spartans and their allies in the battle of Leuctra with terrible slaughter. A number of Greek states allied themselves with the victorious Thebans,

whose influence reached as far as Macedonia. For nine years, as long as Epaminondas lived, they maintained their position as the foremost state of Greece, though many other cities, such as Athens, refused to join them and even worked against them. The man who had raised Thebes to the height of its power, Epaminondas, fell in the battle of Mantinea, in which he had just inflicted another defeat on hitherto unconquerable Sparta. His death ended the supremacy of Thebes.

After a short period of partial unity the Greeks had shown that with their undying jealousies and narrow local patriotism they were unable ever to form a united powerful nation. They needed to be welded together by some outside power. In culture, in all kinds of art, Greece remained the teacher of mankind. The very men who were to conquer her politically were also to lead her forth upon her mission of enlightenment, and to secure universal recognition of her intellectual supremacy.

THE MACEDONIAN CONQUEST

171. Philip II of Macedonia. — At the time of the Persian Wars Macedonia was still a little-known country. It had some good rulers. But the one who rapidly led it to prominence was Philip II. Philip had spent some years as hostage at Thebes (§ 170), where he had the best chance to learn the good and bad features of the Greeks. He was ambitious, crafty, an unfailing judge of character, a marvelous organizer, and a first-class general. He made it his aim to become the head of all Greece, and with the Greek soldiery to enter upon a gigantic career of conquest. His acquisitions (see map) gave to his country good harbors and gold mines which enriched his treasury. He improved on the Greek methods of warfare. He gave his hoplites spears which were eighteen feet long. In battle the first several ranks passed their spears between the men before them, so that five rows of bristling spearpoints projected beyond the first soldier.

172. Philip II and the Greeks. — He knew how to play one Greek state against the other. One of his principles was, "No city wall is so high that a donkey with a load of gold cannot jump over it." He had paid agents among the pretended patriots of all Greek states. He posed as defender of Greek liberty, even of Greek religion.

At Athens *Demosthenes*, the greatest orator the world has ever known, displayed all the force of his wonderful eloquence to rouse the people against the encroachments of Philip II. Most of his speeches, unsurpassed masterpieces of oratory, fell on deaf ears. But at length the Athenians united with the Thebans, so

often their deadly foes, against the ever increasing power of the northern monarch. They were hopelessly crushed at *Chaeronea*, 338 B.C.

173. Greece under Macedonia. — Chaeronea has been called the end of Greek liberty. It certainly was the beginning of Greek unity. Philip carefully avoided the appearance of a brute

conqueror. At a congress of all the Greek states at Corinth a kind of constitution was adopted, according to which Greece united under Philip II. Every state was independent in its own interior affairs, while Philip would take care of all international relations, including the question of war and peace. He was elected as generalissimo for the war soon to be undertaken against Persia. Thus Greece became a highly privileged province of the Kingdom of Macedonia, and until 1829 A.D. remained the province of some other state.

CHAPTER XV

THE GRAECO-ORIENTAL WORLD

ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND HIS EMPIRE

174. Alexander the Great. — Philip II of Macedonia was assassinated in 336, two years after the battle of Chaeronea. He was just ready to begin the invasion of Asia. This enterprise was taken up by his son *Alexander*, 336–323 B.C.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT
From a statue in the Capitoline Museum, Rome.

From his father Alexander had inherited his sagacious insight into men and things, and his brilliant capacity for timely and determined action. To his mother Olympias, to whom he ever bore a filial devotion, he owed a delicate sympathy for the weak, a faithful attachment to friends and benefactors, and that magnetic character which gained him the enthusiastic adherence of the thousands that followed him to the ends of the world. He was, however, especially in his later years, subject to terrible outbursts of anger. He admired Homer's works and knew the whole *Iliad* by heart. Aristotle, the great philosopher (§ 188), directed his later education, and taught him to

admire art and science, and brought him into sympathy with the best of Greek culture. Alexander proved a rare military genius. He never lost a battle, and never refused an engagement. Like his father he could also be shrewd and adroit in diplomacy, though unlike his father he always retained a certain straightforwardness and honesty in his dealings with friend and foe.

175. Alexander and the Greeks. — At his father's death Alexander was a stripling of twenty years. No one thought that he could hold together the realm which Philip II had built up by force and cunning. Revolts broke out everywhere. But with marvelous rapidity Alexander struck crushing blows right and left. He restored order in Greece, and quieted the savage tribes of the north and northwest. The city of Thebes, upon the news of Philip's death, revolted again. Alexander soon stood before its walls, conquered and destroyed it, leaving only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar intact, and sold the population into slavery. This terrified all other states into submission, and Alexander organized the common army of Hellas for the overthrow of the Persian Empire.[1]

176. THE PERSIAN CAMPAIGN. — In the spring of 334 Alexander, at the head of 35,000 picked troops, crossed the Hellespont to meet the hundreds of thousands which the Great King could oppose to this handful of men. The route of march is best studied by the map facing this page. The students should use the "scale of miles" to measure the enormous distances. The conquest of Persia falls into four sections. Each of the first three of them is marked by one great battle.

177. Asia Minor. — The Persian satraps gathered their army on one side of the little river *Granicus*. With the rashness which was one blot upon his military skill Alexander crossed the river,

[1] For further illustration of the history of one of the greatest kings that ever lived the student is recommended to read the selections contained in *D. R.*, Vol. I. They are too numerous to be mentioned in detail. All make instructive and fascinating reading.

CAMPAIGNS
AND EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER
THE GREAT
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 400 600
Marches of Alexander
Voyage of Nearchus
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ARABIAN SEA
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
TROPIC OF CANCER
THRACE
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
MEDIA
PARTHYNIA
ARIA
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
ARACHOSIA
GEDDROSIA
INDIA
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
SUSIANA
PERSIA
CARMANIA
DRANGIANA
EGYPT
ARABIA
Lake Oxus
Oxus R.
Jaxartes R.
Ister R.
Pella
Corinth
Sardis
Ephesus
Miletus
Ancyra
Issus
Tyre
Damascus
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Paraetonium
Ammon
Memphis
Arbela
Ecbatana
Babylon
Susa
Persepolis
Pura
Maracanda
Alexandria Oxiana
Bactra
Taxila
Superior
Inferior
Alexandria Sogdiorum
Indus R.
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Hydaspes R.
Alexandria

himself leading the cavalry. His furious onset broke the lines of the enemy, and his other troops completed the defeat. A body of Greeks who served in the barbarian army was cut down entirely. The conqueror now secured, not without finding some fierce resistance, the coast towns of Asia Minor. Asia Minor was his. Many of its districts voluntarily submitted.

178. The Eastern Coasts of the Mediterranean. — After crossing the mountains which separate Asia Minor from Syria, he met a host of 600,000, led by King Darius II, at Issus. Darius had chosen his position badly. He allowed himself to be caught in a narrow defile between the mountains and the sea. His army soon was a huddled mob of fugitives, and the Macedonians wearied themselves with slaughter. Even Darius's mother and daughter fell in the victor's hands, who treated them with the greatest kindness. *Alexander now assumed the title King of Persia.* The city of Tyre resisted him for a year, but was taken and fearfully punished. On his march down the coast to Egypt he visited *Jerusalem*, where he was met by the high priest in a solemn procession. He granted to the Jews great privileges. Egypt received him as deliverer with open arms. In this country he founded the city of Alexandria, which was destined to be for many centuries a commercial and intellectual center and is still one of the most important cities of the world.

179. The Tigris-Euphrates district was reduced by the battle of *Arbela*, not far from the site of ancient Nineveh. The brilliant capitals, Babylon, Susa, Ecbatana, and Persepolis, with enormous treasures, fell into the conqueror's hands. Darius never gathered another army.

The battles of the Granicus, Issus, and Arbela were the reply of the Hellenes for the Persian attacks at Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea. They were of a similar importance, too. Instead of merely defending Hellenic civilization, these new victories caused it to be diffused over the Oriental world.

180. The Farther East. — The conquest of the eastern part of the empire was attended by much greater hardships, because

the marches often led through deserts and other places difficult to pass, and because here were met nations who had not lost their primitive vigor. Darius was assassinated by one of his own satraps. Alexander marched as far as the Indus River and received the submission of Porus, a mighty Indian king. At last his Macedonians refused to go any farther. He returned to Babylon, which he intended to make his capital, and devoted the remaining two years of his life to the organization of his vast empire. He died of fever in 323.

181. ALEXANDER'S HIGHER AIM: THE MINGLING OF WEST AND EAST. — During and after his war Alexander's aims rose to a higher level. He wanted to be more than merely an avenger of Hellas. He wished to see the two civilizations, the Hellenic and the Oriental, merged into one common culture, to which each should contribute its best elements. He encouraged intermarriages between his own men and the daughters of Persians; appointed Asiatics to high positions; adopted the Persian dress and Persian customs. On the other hand he had Persian youths trained in the Hellenic fashion; introduced imitations of the Panhellenic games; erected Greek temples and theaters; encouraged the reading and study of Greek literature; and let it be known that an educated man must know Greek. As a very efficient means he established many *Greek colonies*. Often these were merely the settlements of his veterans. But enterprising younger men would flock to them from all over Hellas. The locations were so well chosen that many have existed for centuries and are still important places, as Herat and Kandahar, and, above all, Alexandria. These cities were laid out according to well-considered plans, and had good paved streets. Each of them was a center of Hellenic ideas and Hellenic culture. Gradually natives, too, would move in, and assume Greek language and customs. Several of these colonies were named *Alexandria*.

182. Thus arose the Hellenistic civilization, the main elements of which were indeed those of the Hellenic, modified as they were by the contact with Oriental views and ideas. It is to the

undying credit of Alexander the Great that he deliberately brought about the blending of these two cultures, and that in so doing he deliberately gave preference to the Hellenic — that part which, without any doubt, bore the truest marks of greatness. Few men have done what Alexander the Macedonian did for the genuine (natural) advancement of mankind at large.

THE SUCCESSOR STATES

183. Alexander's Empire Broken Up. — It was a calamity for the world that Alexander died so soon. His plan of one great political unit of the whole known world was not to be realized. His empire lasted only a few years. He left no son that was able to succeed him. His generals divided the enormous lands among themselves, first under the title of governors, then as independent kings. A period of bloody wars followed. Out of this struggle emerged, besides some smaller states, three great kingdoms: *Syria, under Seleucus; Egypt, under Ptolemy; Macedonia, under Cassander.* Syria was practically the successor of the old Persian Empire, but it quickly lost the lands east of the Euphrates. The Ptolemies in Egypt simply succeeded to the position of the ancient pharaohs. All these states, including the smaller ones, vigorously continued the Hellenizing policy of Alexander. They existed until, at various dates, they became provinces of the Roman Empire.

When the wars of the succession were hardly over, an unexpected danger threatened civilization. From their homes in western Europe strong bands of *Celts* invaded Greece and Asia Minor, carrying death and destruction everywhere, and plundering the wealthy cities on their march. Their inroads, beginning in 278 B.C., continued several years, until large hordes of them were settled as colonists in the center of Asia Minor, in a country afterwards called *Galatia.* Though accepting much of Hellenic culture, they retained their identity and language for several centuries.

184. Greece. — The new kingdom of Macedonia claimed the allegiance of the Greeks. These made several attempts, partly successful, to regain their political liberty. The most remarkable

feat was the establishment of the *Achaean League*, a kind of "United States," consisting of members with equal rights and having a central government. For half a century it defended Greek liberty successfully. At last, in a quarrel with Sparta, its greatest leader, Aratus, otherwise a very able statesman, treasonably called in Macedonia for assistance. The league became subject to that power. It was allowed to continue, and it even survived Macedonia by some years.

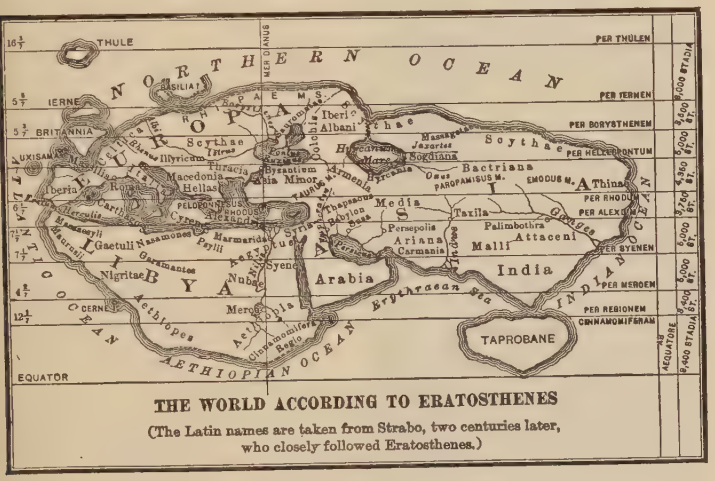
THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

185. Centers of Hellenistic Culture. — The city of *Athens* always maintained its place as the teacher of everything great, learned, and elevating. For centuries men flocked to it from all parts of the world for the purpose of study, or to perfect themselves in what they had learned elsewhere. Athens had, however, great rivals in the flourishing cities around the head of the Mediterranean. At *Rhodes* there existed a most renowned school of oratory alongside other institutions of learning. On the continent of Asia there were *Pergamum* in Asia Minor, *Antioch* in Syria, *Alexandria* in Egypt. Not only did these cities boast of a large number of first-class scholars, mostly with Greek names, but the enormous wealth of their citizens and kings enabled them to establish institutions for the promotion of scholarship far grander than those of Athens, and to carry out enterprises which in size and expensiveness, though not in taste and beauty, dwarfed the productions of the city of Pericles. Greece, always holding a very prominent place in the realm of intellectual and artistic activity, was now only one of several countries where a high-class civilization had found a congenial home.

186. A brisk literary activity was going on in these and hundreds of minor centers. A number of poetical works were produced, though none of them equaled the immortal epics of Homer or the grand dramas of Sophocles. Men tried to put forth writings whose language was in every way perfect, though the content

THE EAST
about 300 B.C.
POSSESSIONS OF
Cassander, King of Macedonia, which claimed and for some time controlled Greece
Seleucus, King of Syria
Ptolemy King of Egypt
Lyrimachus (to break up soon)
Adriatic Sea
Rome
Tarentum
Danube R.
THRACE
Lysimachia
Byzantium
BLACK SEA
PAPHLAGONIA
PONTUS
Pydna
Aegean Sea
Delphi
Corinth
GREECE
Athens
Sparta
Pergamum
Magnesia
Ephesus
GALATIA
Halys R.
ARMENIA
Syracuse
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
RHODES
CILICIA
Antioch
SYRIA
CYPRUS
Euphrates R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Tigris R.
Jerusalem
Dead Sea
Jordan R.
Alexandria
EGYPT
Nile
Sinai
RED SEA
ARABIA
Babylon
Persian Gulf
Persepolis
PERSIS
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
Jaxartes R.
Oxus R.
HYRCANIA
(PERSIA)
MEDIA
PARTHIA
Alexandria
BACTRIA
Alexandria
Alexandria
Indus R.
PUNJAB
ARABIAN SEA
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80

did not come up to the masterpieces of former times. Never were the poems of Homer and other works more carefully and painstakingly studied as to the shade and sound of every word. The Hellenistic scholars examined the manuscripts of such writings, to find out which was the best and deserved to be followed. The study of grammar was paramount. The language was to be known not only practically but also theoretically. The principal home of these studies was Alexandria.



THE WORLD ACCORDING TO ERATOSTHENES

(The Latin names are taken from Strabo, two centuries later, who closely followed Eratosthenes.)

187. Science made great strides during the Hellenistic age. Nearly all proofs of the sphericity of the earth were known at that time, as they now figure in our textbooks of physical geography. Eratosthenes, born 276 B.C., is by many considered the founder of the science of astronomy. Some scholars were convinced that men could reach the eastern coast of Asia by sailing west from Europe. Architecture, painting, and sculpture, needless to say, were practiced on a large scale. All the Hellenistic kings made it their special business to attract talented artists to their brilliant courts, and to enlist their services for the production of numerous costly and grand enterprises of all kinds.

These studies were greatly assisted by the establishment of *museums*. The model museum was that of Alexandria. It had a library of a million (handwritten) books, with scribes to make careful copies, and explain difficult passages by annotations. It had observatories and botanical and zoölogical gardens, with collections of all kinds. There was a staff of learned men, called librarians, who devoted their whole lives to study and teaching. The entire costly institution was maintained from public funds. While with us the word *museum* denotes merely some large or small collection of antiques, works of art, etc., the museum of Alexandria was rather a university.

Statue of Aristotle (so-called)

188. Philosophy is one of the greatest glories of the Greek mind. Its most prominent representatives lived just before the beginning of the Hellenistic period, but are best mentioned here. **Plato,** a disciple of Socrates (§ 152), elaborated a vast philosophical system. He died in 347 B.C. His writings strikingly display before us the infinite greatness, goodness, and wisdom of God — One God — His sovereignty over the world, the spirituality of the human soul. Though these truths are mingled with errors of the most serious kind, his philosophy, taken all in all, exhibits a noble mind and a penetrating intellect, which grappled with the problems of life with considerably more success than any of his predecessors. **Aristotle,** for many years Plato's disciple, far outshines his master. He died a year after Alexander, in 322 B.C. In his investigations he proceeded from

life and experience. One of Plato's errors was that our ideas are born with us. Aristotle taught that they are acquired through the operation of the senses, which convey to the intellect the material upon which the latter begins its activity to rise to spiritual (immaterial) concepts. Although not free from very grave shortcomings, Aristotle's system is so nearly perfect that its chief outlines and very many of its details became the fundamental doctrines of the great Christian philosophers of the Middle Ages. St. Thomas and the other Scholastics refer to him simply as "The Philosopher." Aristotle used to walk about, in the shady avenues of the "Lyceum," with his disciples, while imparting his instructions. Hence his followers are also called *Peripatetics*, from a Greek verb meaning to walk up and down.

189. Minor Philosophic Systems. — Two schools are best described by stating that they tried to answer the question: How can man become happy? The *Stoics*, so called from the stoa in which their founder Zeno used to teach, reply to this question: by practicing "virtue," *i.e.*, by subduing and suppressing all passions and emotions. Everything happens with necessity; so bear it without feeling, because you cannot avoid it. This is, of course, not the Christian virtue of patience, but it has some similarity with it. The Stoics came nearer to Christianity, perhaps, by their belief in a common brotherhood of all men. The reply of *Epicurus* and the *Epicureans* was different: Get as much pleasure out of life as you can. The warning which they added, that this would require self-control, was commonly disregarded by their followers. Another school was that of the *Skeptics*, who taught that we can know nothing with certainty and that we must doubt everything. The *Cynics* ostentatiously threw away all the comforts of life and sneered at the love of family, country, and religion.

190. Limitations of Hellenistic Civilization. — Let the student recall the limitations of Hellenic culture as given in § 153. They remained in full force during the Hellenistic period and were aggravated by the contact of Hellenism with Oriental customs. The position of woman had not been honorable in Greece. The Hellenistic kings (Alexander himself gave the example) at once adopted polygamy. The harsh treatment of the Oriental slaves

was in no way improved. The new connections between East and West enormously increased the wealth of the higher classes and greatly widened the gap between the rich and the poor. The philosophers, Plato and Aristotle included, who gravely discoursed on human happiness and moral rights and duties, did not so much as dream of the man in the street, let alone the slave. The moral degradation of Hellas, enhanced by the vices of the decaying Orient, had started upon its march through the countries on the Mediterranean.

A LAST WORD ON GREEK CULTURE

The Greek contributions to our civilization can hardly be named in detail as can those of the Oriental nations. Egypt and Babylonia gave us some very important outer features. Greece, as it were, infused a new spirit. Hers was essentially an educational task. In the development of all the purely secular branches of human knowledge and endeavor no nation has had an equally large share. The Greeks became the teachers of the Romans. "Conquered Greece caught her fierce conqueror." Roman poetry and oratory and whatever there was of Roman philosophy shaped itself after Greek models. And Rome passed on the treasure she had received to the peoples of the later centuries. Thus Greece through Rome is still teaching in our schools. The chief principles of Christian philosophy were taken over bodily from the sages of the Aegean Sea. Greek education helped to prepare the world for the coming of Christianity and furnished the language in which the glad tidings of the New Testament were first written down in human speech. Yet Greek civilization was modified by the matter-of-fact genius of conquering and ruling Rome. It came to the largest part of Europe through the Romanized Celts, again to be affected by the mind of the Teutons. There is above all the paramount influence of the religion of Jesus Christ with its Heaven-born truths and ideals. It was the task of Christianity to undo the enormous harm which Greek vice, increased by the gross immorality of the Orient and propagated under Roman sway to the remotest corners of the world, had brought upon mankind. None of these factors may be omitted when judging of the contributions of Greece to our present civilization.

PART FOUR: ROME AS A REPUBLIC

The older empires of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians and the liberty-loving Greeks, all contributed their share to the development of human civilization. The contribution of the Greeks was almost entirely in the realm of the intellectual. *Rome*, more than any other power, improved the art of government and political organization.

Unlike the other great powers Rome did not start as a nation, but as an Italian country town of moderate size, which knew how to aggregate other towns to itself, acquire by conquest and otherwise large districts, and thus become the head of a vast empire, that extended over all the countries of the Mediterranean shores and far into the continents.

CHAPTER XVI

ITALY AND ITS PEOPLES

191. The country we now call Italy is bounded in the north by the Alps. With the ancients " Italy " did not include the broad plain at the foot of the Alps with the Po River. Italy for them was the peninsula proper. A long chain of mountains, called the *Apennines,* runs through the land. It is narrower and steeper in the north, broadens out into a hill country in the middle, and nearly disappears towards the south. Italy is divided into smaller sections, but these are only in few places separated by mountain ranges. Nor are they so small and so numerous as those of Greece. The rivers are all small, with the sole exception of the *Arnus* in Etruria, and the *Tiber,* on which Rome is situated.

Italy faces rather west. Mark the three large islands situated in this direction, which invite to conquest and point to Africa and western Europe. In the Mediterranean Italy holds a dom-

ITALY
REFERENCE MAP
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100
GERMANIA
Rhine
Dravus
Sarus
Aquileia
Verona
Patavium
Ravenna
Rubicon
Asta
Genua
Luna
Pisa
Faesulae
Metaurus
Ancona
Arnus
Trasimeno
Asculum
Picenum
Tiber
Tarquinii
Ostia
ROMA
LATIUM
Cannae
Brundusium
Canna
Liris
Neapolis
Vesuvius
Pompeii
Venusia
CALABRIA
LUCANIA
Tarentum
Iapygium Pr.
Croton
Panormus
Himera
Milae
Rhegium
Messina
Lilybaeum
Agrigentum
Syracuse
Gela
Utica
Carthage
NUMIDIA
AFRICA
AFRICAN SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ILLYRICUM
ISTRIA
CYRNOS
OR CORSICA
SARDINIA
Longitude East from Greenwich

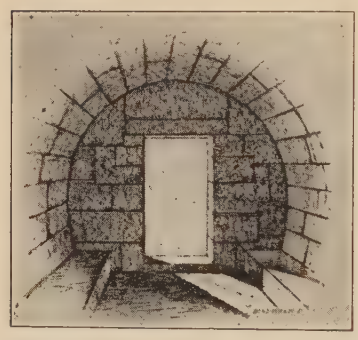
inant position, being the central one of the three great southern peninsulas of Europe. It was fit to become the head of an empire which would embrace the shores of that large inland ocean. (See the map following page 190.)

192. The ancient population of Italy contained many elements. (*a*) The part which interests us most is the race of those called *Italians*. At one time they seem to have extended over the whole peninsula. At the period during which Rome, one of their towns, was rising, they were still rather unmixed along the whole shore of the Adriatic and deep into the peninsula. On the southwest coast they formed a strong settlement from the lower Tiber down to the neighborhood of Naples. This was *Latium*, a confederation of some thirty towns, one of which was Rome. Here the Latin language was spoken, which, indeed, was practically the language of most "Italians." Besides the "Latins" in Latium, there were several other tribes of the Italians, as Umbrians, Sabellians, Campanians, and the *Samnites*, the latter, a brave, hardy race of husbandmen, being the most stubborn opponents of Rome. The Italians belonged to the Aryan family (§ 3) like the Achaeans and Dorians, the Celts, Germans, and Slavs.

An Etruscan Gold Vase

(*b*) At a very early time another nation, the *Etruscans*, whom the Greeks called Tyrrhenians, had immigrated into Italy and dislodged the Italians from many places. They did not belong to the Aryan family, and their origin is shrouded in darkness. They are one of the "riddles of history." Like the old Cretans (§ 80 ff.) they left inscriptions which we cannot read. At any rate, their numerous relics, tombs, pictures, etc., show them to have been

much more civilized than the Italians, whom they pushed out of several regions. In the end the Etruscans became confined, more or less, to the plain of Etruria, in such a way that the lower Tiber separated them from the Latins. But their influence extended much farther. They were mighty builders, workers in bronze and iron, and great seafarers, both for commerce and piracy. The Greeks dubbed the sea to the southwest of Italy Tyrrhenian on account of the many Etruscan vessels that covered it. Etruscan masters erected the oldest great buildings in Rome. They knew in particular how to make arches and vaults. It is commonly supposed that they were a Semitic people (§ 3) and had somehow come from Asia.



Etruscan Vaulted Tomb at Chiusi

(*c*) The third great race in Italy was the *Greeks*, who in the seventh and sixth centuries settled on the southern coasts and built up a number of opulent city states (§ 91). This part of Italy, including Sicily, was styled *Magna Graecia*, "Great Greece."

(*d*) As a fourth race we must mention the *Gauls* or *Celts*, kinsmen of those who once invaded Greece and Asia Minor (§ 183) and of those who lived in what is now France, northern Spain, Great Britain, and Ireland.

The abode of the Italian Celts was northern Italy. The Romans spoke of them as "Cisalpine Gauls," that is, Gauls on *this* side of the Alps, and distinguished them from the "Transalpine Gauls" in present France. (France was then called "Gaul.")

193. Geographical Advantages of the City of Rome. — The importance of cities always depends greatly on their geographical position. So it was with Rome.

(*a*) Rome was situated in the center of the peninsula, in a plain which though narrower in its southern part, and interrupted by elevations, stretches almost along the whole western coast.

(*b*) It commanded the traffic on the Tiber, which in ancient times was very brisk. It was so near the sea that ocean vessels could reach it without unloading, and yet far enough inland to be safe from sudden raids of pirates. Hence its fitness to be a great commercial center.

(*c*) The military qualities of its inhabitants were called into play by the fact that the city was just at the corner of the Latin country, and thus became the natural champion of the Latins against the Etruscans.

(*d*) This position also made possible some mingling of the races, which had a favorable influence upon the population.

Like the Greek states Rome was originally ruled by kings, and like the Greek states it expelled them at an early date. Some of the Roman institutions go back to royal times. After it had become a republic Rome formed its constitution and also conquered most of its extensive provinces.

CHAPTER XVII

FORMATION OF THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION

ROME UNDER KINGS

194. The City on the Seven Hills. — The thirty tribes of Latium, each settled around some hill fort, formed an alliance which was both religious and political. Its head was *Alba Longa* (the Long White City). Rome, too, in the beginning seems to have consisted chiefly of a fortified settlement on the Palatine Hill, often referred to as *Roma Quadrata*, "Square Rome." Walls have been discovered there which must reach back to about 1200 B.C. There seems to have been an early settlement of an Etruscan tribe on the Quirinal Hill, and another of a Sabine tribe on the Caelian Hill. Eventually these three, no doubt after a period of strife, found it advisable to unite under one king on an equal footing. They chose the low ground between the hills as a place for political assemblies and as a common market. They fortified the steep Capitoline Hill, made it a common fortress, and erected a long-stretched wall around all these parts, which inclosed very much open space, thus providing for an increase in population. This wall was said to be the work of a King Servius Tullius. But the present remains are certainly of a later date.

The amalgamation of three tribes into one community indicated the policy of the Romans for part of their career. Rome grew principally in this way. Only the new members were not always admitted on a footing of equality.

The Year 753 B.C. is given by Roman authors as the date of the foundation of their city. This is indeed the year which we must mark for that event, because at one time some Romans and many later authors after them counted the years from it, as we do from the year of the Birth of Christ. (See *H. T. F.*, "Era," 3.) But this year is by no means certain.

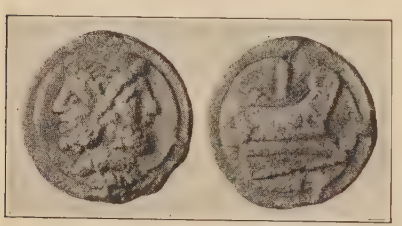
195. Early Conquests. — The new community was aggressive. Before the year 510 B.C. Rome had acquired by wars with the neighboring Etruscans, Sabines, and Latins the whole south bank

1. Citadel (*Arx*).
2. Temple of Jupiter (*Capitolinus*).
3. Quays of the Tarquins.
4. Citadel at Janiculum.
5. Wall of Romulus.
6. Temple of Vesta.
7. Senate House (*Curia*).
8. *Comitium*.

of the Tiber from the sea to the highlands, and about one third of all Latium. The inhabitants of destroyed towns had been brought to Rome. Even Alba Longa was destroyed, and *Rome*

succeeded to the headship of all Latium. Thus the open spaces inside the city walls were gradually settled with newcomers. (Rome became the "City of Seven Hills.")

196. Roman religion centered around the house, and around the state as far as the state was supposed to have grown out of the family. The god *Janus*, double-faced, looking in and out, protected the door; the goddess *Vesta* presided over the hearth. The city, too, had its Janus temple, which was open as long as there was war, and was closed when the army returned. (It was mostly open.) The city had its hearth, a fire kept constantly burning by the Vestal Virgins in the Vesta temple. (See *H. T. F.*, "Vesta.") There were also the gods of farming: *Tellus*, "Earth," the deity of the soil; *Saturn*, the god of sowing; *Ceres*, the goddess who made the grain grow (hence our word "cereals"); *Venus*, goddess of fruitfulness; *Terminus*, the god who dwelt in the boundary pillars of farms and the state. Other gods more general in character were *Mars*, the god of war, and *Jupiter* (Father Jove), who figured as the center of Roman religion. These gods were less manlike than those of the Greeks. They remained misty and vague. The religion was a "dreary round of ceremonies" with little or no poetry.



An Early Roman Coin (*As*)
A representation of Janus; on the reverse is the prow of a ship.

The priests attended to the various sacrifices and took care that the festivals were celebrated on the correct dates. This gave them charge of the Roman calendar (*H. T. F.*, "Calendar," 3.) The *augurs* found out the will of the gods from *auspicia*, that is, the flight or cries of certain birds, or their conduct when feeding. Priests and augurs were state officers. (The *haruspices*, who told the will of the gods from the color or size of the entrails of sacrificial animals, were a sort of private sooth-

sayers, but were often employed on political occasions.) Auspicia had to be taken officially before every state action — for instance, before elections of any kind. The common people believed that once the gods had declared their will, it was a duty to carry it out. Hence the importance attached to the auspicia by great politicians, who, however, always knew how to get favorable auspicia.

197. The government had three parts: *King*, *Senate*, and *Assembly* (like the Greeks in Homeric times, § 85). The king had more power than the Homeric kings. He had to ask the *advice* of the Senate. This body consisted of 300 members, one hundred from each of the three tribes (§ 194). The Assembly, *Comitia*, was a meeting of all the citizens. It met at the call of the king. It did not debate, but simply expressed approval or rejection of the question put before it by the king. Its consent was necessary for offensive war, for any change in old customs, and for the election of a new king.

198. Classes of the Population. — The inhabitants of Rome were divided into two classes or orders. The *patricians* were the descendants of the members of the original three tribes. They were the only citizens in the full sense of the word. They alone could vote in the Assembly. The *plebeians* (or the *plebs*, the crowd), who were either themselves immigrants or the descendants of immigrants, did not possess any citizen rights. Some of them might be rich, richer than some patricians; but they had absolutely no influence on the government, though all plebeians were protected in their lives and property. As this class was numerous, it *constantly tried to gain more recognition, and win rights and privileges. This endeavor makes part of the early political history of Rome.* One of the greatest difficulties against their adoption to citizenship was the fact that they were looked upon as an unholy mob, which had no share in the family and clan worship of the patricians.

199. Patrician society was organized in families, clans, and curias. The *family* was almost a state in itself. The father

ruled his household and even the households of his male descendants as priest, judge, and king. He could sell or slay his wife or any of his children, without incurring any guilt before the law. Of course no father was inclined to make use of this power. It is a curious fact that despite this legal slavery of women, the Roman matrons had a dignity and public influence unknown in Greece. When a daughter married, she left the family entirely and came under the control of her husband or her husband's father. A patrician could not marry a plebeian woman. If he did, he was cast out from his family and became a plebeian. The Roman *clan*, called in Latin *gens* (plural, *gentes*), was supposed to have grown out of the family. There were 300 such gentes in ancient Rome. The gentes were grouped into 30 *curias*, ten to each of the three tribes. Each curia had its own religious festivals. In the assembly, the citizens, *i.e.*, the patricians, met by curias, each curia having one collective vote. Thus it could happen that five men of one curia had as much voting power as a hundred other men, if these all belonged to one other curia.

TWO CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

200. A New Military Organization of the People. — Originally the army was made up of the patricians and their immediate dependents only. The plebeians were not allowed to bear arms. But as they gradually increased in number and wealth, it appeared desirable to enlist them also. So one of the kings — according to legend his name was Servius Tullius — introduced a **new division of the entire people including the plebeians**, without, however, abolishing the ancient curias of the patricians.

The new division was based on wealth, not on birth, on the ground that every soldier had to pay for his own equipment. There were *five classes*. The richest had to serve in the fullest kind of armor. The second and third, though less fully equipped, were also counted as "heavy-armed." The fourth and fifth figured as "light-armed." Each class was subdivided into companies supposed to count one hundred each, and therefore called

centuries, from the Latin word *centum*, a hundred. The very richest men, however, who served on horseback and therefore had to maintain horses, were called "knights," and with their eighteen centuries formed almost a class by themselves. There were in all 193 centuries. (Compare with the four classes at Athens, § 101.)

Since with the ancients the obligation to bear arms and the right to vote always went together, there was now established a second assembly, called the *Assembly of the Centuries*, for all men whether patricians or plebeians. Each century had one collective vote. This Assembly of the Centuries decided chiefly on political matters, which were thus withdrawn from the Assembly of the Curias.

At first sight this would seem to mean a great deal for the plebeians. In reality it did not amount to much. The centuries were not equally divided among the several classes. The first class, which consisted chiefly of patricians, had eighty, each of which as a rule numbered fewer than a hundred men. The centuries of the lower classes commonly counted many more than a hundred men. The knights and the first class together possessed 98 votes. If they voted in a body, they could carry any measure they pleased. After Roman custom the voting stopped as soon as there was a majority. So it could happen that the second and following classes, which consisted more and more of plebeians, did not even come to cast their vote at all.

Despite this great drawback the new arrangement was an advance. **It was the first break in the barrier between patricians and plebeians.**

201. The Disappearance of Royalty. — Probably more than the traditional seven kings ruled in Rome. (See *Ancient World*, § 335.) The last three seem to have been "tyrants" in the good sense of the word. They carried out great buildings and other works for the benefit of the city. They greatly favored the plebeians. Servius Tullius was the last but one. We are ill informed about the details which led to and accompanied the expulsion of the last king, Tarquin, surnamed the Proud. Historians have no doubt that it was the doing of the patricians. At any rate the patricians were the ones that

gained by the change of government, as the following pages will amply show. **Rome became a republic.** This is said to have happened in 510 B.C., the same year in which Hippias was driven out of Athens (§ 106).

CLOACA MAXIMA

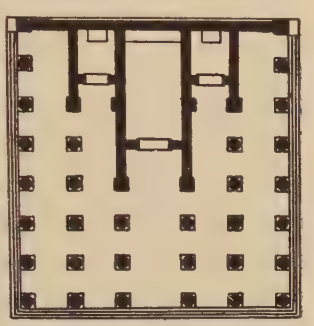
The main sewer of Rome, built by Etruscan masters, as it appeared before its recent renovation.

202. The chief features of the republican government, which in substance remained for centuries, were these:

(*a*) *Two consuls* were elected from the patricians to rule simultaneously for one year. They possessed the full royal power as rulers and judges. They were not priests, however. The priestly functions were intrusted for life to one who continued to be called "king," *rex*. The consuls called and dissolved the Assembly at will. They alone could propose measures or nomi-

nate magistrates. They ruled the city in peace, and commanded the army in war. In actual administration they changed off every month. As a mark of their dignity twelve "lictors," who carried the "fasces," that is, bundles of sticks with an ax in them, preceded in single file the consul who was officiating that month, while an equal number followed the other.

The power of the consul was limited in several ways. Each consul at all times had the right to forbid any measure which the other one wished to take. When they laid down their offices, they might be tried and punished by the Assembly of the Centuries for what they had done while in the office. Their short term, moreover, made them dependent upon the advice of the permanent Senate, against whose will it was almost impossible for them to act. Finally, while in the beginning there was no appeal from their verdict as judges, they could not later on condemn a citizen to death without the approval of the Assembly of the Centuries.



TEMPLE OF JUPITER ON THE ROMAN CAPITOL

A characteristically Etruscan plan. (Compare with plans of Greek temples, page 97.) The three sections of the temple proper were certainly not of equal width, but some scholars think they were of equal length. The center one was dedicated to Jupiter; the one on the left to Juno; the one on the right to Minerva. When seen from a distance the temple looked almost like a Greek one. The temples erected during the time of the later Republic and the Empire exactly followed the Greek model.

(*b*) *The Senate and the Assembly* remained as before. But the Senate's power grew by the fact that the consuls were more dependant on its "advice" than the life-king had been. On the other hand, the consuls filled the vacancies in the Senate that occurred during their year of office.

(*c*) *The dictatorship* was an extraordinary office for times of great danger. It might happen, in a war for instance, that the

two consuls with their different opinions were not likely to carry on a strong attack or defense, while it was necessary to follow one plan strictly and in every detail. In such cases either of the consuls, upon the request of the senate, might appoint a dictator, who remained in office as long as the case required, though not longer than six months. During this time he was the sole master of Rome, and at full liberty to take any measure he thought to be necessary to keep the state from suffering harm. He was independent of Senate and assemblies. Dictators were appointed repeatedly, and always with good results.

IMPORTANT GAINS OF THE PLEBEIANS

203. Condition of the Plebeians. — The expulsion of the kings enhanced the power of the patricians. They alone could hold any office, and the importance of their senate had risen enormously. The plebeians had won nothing. On the contrary they had lost a protector, and were delivered over entirely to the patrician government. They had in particular three grievances:

(*a*) *The exclusion from public lands.* The Roman state possessed extensive farm lands, acquired mostly by conquest. The kings had permitted the plebeians to settle on these lands, though the greater part was used by the patricians. Now these domains were closed to the plebeians. The patrician officers even neglected to collect the small rent which the patricians were bound to pay to the state for the public lands they held.

(*b*) *Their unjust debts.* When the plebeian served in war, he had to neglect his farm, or he might find it devastated by the enemy. He was forced to borrow money or grain. Maybe this happened several years in succession. Thus his little farm became heavily mortgaged. According to Roman law the creditor might take away his farm, or throw him into a dungeon, or sell him, his wife, and his children into slavery. The large number of such debtors made this a crying evil.

(*c*) *The laws were not written.* In case of an injustice done to him the plebeian had to recur to the patrician judge, who was

not only partial to those of his class, but also decided the case according to laws which the plebeian was not supposed to know. So even in the courts of justice the plebeian was completely helpless, and saw himself surrendered to the mercy of a prejudiced judge.

Even the rich plebeians were utterly dissatisfied with their lot. This was especially true of the descendants of the ruling families of conquered towns, who had been forced to come to Rome. They felt sorely grieved, because they now belonged to a class looked upon as inferior and unfit for any office. These became the natural leaders of the downtrodden plebeians.

204. The Struggle. — Years of the fiercest civil dissension were the result. Repeatedly the anger of the plebeians broke out into violence against those whom they especially charged with oppression. Several times they drove a consul, after his term of office, out of the city. The patricians replied by similar acts, in particular against those of their own number who were large-hearted enough to see the injustice of the treatment meted out to the plebs. In 494 B.C. the plebeians had received the solemn promise that their grievances would be redressed if they would go to war that year. Once before this promise had been given and broken. This time, too, they found, when returning from the war, that nothing was going to be done for them. Thereupon, armed as they were, they left the city, threatening to build a Rome of their own on the "Sacred Mount," some three miles away. No power of persuasion could induce them to return before a great concession had been made. A new office was created for their protection.

205. The Tribunes of the Plebs. — The plebeians were to elect from their own number two (later on ten) men vested with a very peculiar power. Whenever a plebeian thought he was wronged by any magistrate, he could appeal to a Tribune of the Plebs, who might stop the official by calling out, *veto*, "I forbid." So that they might always be within reach, the tribunes were forbidden to leave the city, or to lock the doors of their houses

by day or night. Later their power increased, so that they could even "veto" state actions, such as the proposing of a law in the Assembly, or the passing of a Senate's decree, if they thought it would be harmful to the interests of the plebs. This power was indeed such that the tribunes could bring the whole government to a standstill. It is highly to the credit of the Roman people that on the whole the Tribunes of the Plebs used their privilege with moderation.

206. Written Laws. — It took nearly a half century of agitation to force the patricians to consent to the writing down of the laws. Tradition combines it with another emigration to the Sacred Mount. A "Commission of Ten" (*Decemviri*, ten men) was appointed for this purpose. These officials had the existing laws engraved on twelve tables, which were set up in the market place. The "Laws of the Twelve Tables" were the beginning of Roman legislation. They were very harsh. But at least everybody could see for himself how the judges were required to decide, and these laws applied equally to patricians and plebeians. This event is placed in 449 B.C.

207. A Third Assembly. — Under the kings the whole state had been divided into twenty sections, called "tribes," four of which were in the city. (They had nothing to do with the three original tribes of the patricians, § 194.) Since the plebeians had no organization like that of the patrician curias, they had gradually begun to gather in an assembly of their own, in which the vote was taken by tribes. Though according to Roman views the patricians could not be kept out of these meetings, the **Assembly of the Tribes** became essentially a plebeian gathering. With the introduction of the Tribunes of the Plebs it acquired greater influence. It elected these officers, who afterwards had the right to summon it and to preside in it. Its decrees were binding upon the whole plebs. At a much later date, laws thus passed, called *plebiscites*, became binding upon the whole people, like those of the Assembly of the Centuries, subject, however, to the Senate's veto. (*H. T. F.*, "Plebiscite.")

FULL EQUALIZATION OF PLEBEIANS AND PATRICIANS

208. Patrician Evasions. — The plebeians rightly remained dissatisfied. The harsh debtor laws were not abolished. Nor did the patricians stop occupying almost exclusively the public lands. In 445 B.C. the plebeians had the satisfaction to see the prohibition of marriages with the patricians repealed, a step which made possible the social fusion of the two orders. But their aim was admission to the consulship.

The patricians did not want to see the religious office of the consuls polluted by unholy plebeians. They perceived at the same time that some concession had to be made. So they separated the religious functions and some political powers from the consular office and gave them to new officers, the *censors*, who were to be patricians. Two censors were chosen every five years. Among other duties they revised the lists of the citizens and might strike out a citizen's name from them; they might deprive a knight of his rank; they filled the vacancies in the Senate, and expelled unworthy senators. There was no appeal from their verdicts. When all this business was finished, which commonly took some eighteen months, they offered up a sacrifice for the propitiation of the gods. This important and mighty office was always much respected and looked upon as the most dignified in the state.

The consulship thus shorn of its highest privileges was to remain patrician nevertheless. Instead of consuls certain other officers were to be elected, who might be taken from the plebeians. As a matter of fact few plebeians secured this selection. For some eighty years the quarrel went on with the old fierceness, the patricians not shrinking even from bloodshed.

209. The Licinian Laws. — Nevertheless the power of the plebs increased. In Licinius Stolo they found an able champion, who led them to victory. In the year 367 B.C. the "Licinian Laws," named after him, went into force. The most important of them were these three:

(1) From now on consuls will be elected, and one of them must be a plebeian.

(2) No citizen will be allowed to hold more than 500 *jugera* (about 300 acres) of public land.

(3) The payment of debt is to be postponed for three years, and the interest already paid is to be deducted from the capital.

The student will perceive that the first law is political, the second and third economic (§ 104). The third law offered only a temporary remedy for a crying evil. The second bid fair to end a great deal of misery among the poor, who now could hope to get a share in the public domain. Let us keep this law in mind. Two hundred years later it will again loom up big on the horizon of the economic world of Rome.

210. Final Plebeian Successes. — The patricians had again separated part of the powers of the consul from that office and had created the patrician office of *praetor* for the functions of supreme judge. Thus three great offices remained closed to the plebeians, namely, those of dictator, censor, and praetor. All these devices were in vain. The plebeian consul was the entering wedge. It was the consuls that proposed the names of candidates for all elective offices and at critical times appointed the dictator. So it was only a question of time, when these positions, too, would be filled by plebeians. As a matter of fact by the year 300 B.C. all offices, including even those of priests and augurs, and the Senate itself, were open to the plebs.

CHAPTER XVIII

UNIFICATION OF ITALY

CONQUEST OF ITALY

211. Events before 367. — The expulsion of the kings in 510 was followed by a weakening of Rome's exterior power. She even lost territory to neighboring peoples. But when the interior struggles were abating, in 449, Rome made slow gains. In 396 she destroyed *Veii*, a dangerous Etruscan rival, and brought its inhabitants to Rome. In 390 the *Gauls* from the north (§ 192 *c*) approached Rome, and defeated a Roman army on the Allia River, some twelve miles from the city. Rome fell into their hands, with the sole exception of the Capitol (see map on page 161), which was bravely defended by an heroic garrison under Marcus Manlius. Having plundered and partly destroyed the city, the Gallic hordes left after seven months.

212. THE ITALIAN WARS. — *By the Licinian Laws the process of unification within Rome had come to a close. Patricians and plebeians now formed one Roman people. United Rome turned to the work of uniting Italy. This task filled a century, about 367–266,* a time during which the Romans performed deeds of the greatest valor and showed a wonderful determination and admirable consistent statesmanship, though we cannot say that all their wars had a just cause or that Rome always made a moderate use of her victories. We enumerate only the most important conflicts.

213. The Latin War, the last attempt made by the cities of Latium to gain equality with the city on the Tiber, in 338 ended in a complete victory for Rome. Rome dissolved the Latin confederacy, and concluded a separate treaty with each city.

The inhabitants of some became Roman citizens, and were listed in the Roman tribes. Others were made subjects, but in different degrees, so that there was no common interest to bind them together. Their inhabitants were not allowed to carry on commerce with those of other towns except through Rome.

214. Wars with the Samnites. — The Samnites were less civilized, but brave, warlike, and strongly attached to their land and liberty. They were numerous enough to be a match for Rome. Before the Latin War there had been a first war between the two powers, but with no gain for Rome. In 326 Rome provoked the Samnites into a declaration of a second war. Smaller nations joined both parties. Fortune varied greatly. Rome suffered terrible defeats, without, however, even considering the giving up of her aim. During the second war she tried, more than she had done before, to secure her conquests by the foundation of fortified *colonies* in important localities. At the end of this war, 304, the Samnites, besides giving up much of their possessions, were forced to become " allies " of the Romans.

The third Samnite war was in reality fought by a coalition of Samnites, Etruscans, Gauls, and minor nations. It was almost a war of Italy against Rome. It brought Rome to the verge of ruin. But undaunted bravery and excellent generalship decided for Rome. By 266 all central Italy had come under her control. She organized it into one state. As in the case of the Latins (§ 213) she gave various rights and privileges to the cities and regions, so as to make impossible a unity of interest. Numerous strong Roman *colonies* helped to secure the permanence of Roman dominion.

215. The Conquest of Southern Italy. — Rome had her eye on the cities of Magna Graecia. Contrary to a treaty Roman ships entered the harbor of Tarentum and were destroyed by the infuriated people. When Rome sent an envoy to settle the dispute, the mob grossly insulted him, whereupon war was declared. The Tarentines, too unwarlike themselves, sought help from

Pyrrhus, the chivalrous King of Epirus on the other side of the Adriatic.

Pyrrhus was a distant relative of Alexander the Great. He had been forced to give up the throne of Macedonia, and now wished to become an Alexander in the West. He hoped to unite the Greek cities in Italy and Sicily against Carthage. He landed in Italy with an excellent army. He defeated the Romans in two battles. In the second his own losses were so great that he exclaimed, "One more such victory, and I am lost." But when he offered a favorable peace, the Roman Senate replied that Rome would not treat with an invader as long as he stood on Italian soil. In a third battle he was completely conquered. He left the Greek cities to the Romans to be incorporated into their Italian state.

KING PYRRHUS
A coin struck by him while in Sicily.

GOVERNMENT OF ITALY

The inhabitants of Italy, about 5,000,000, fell into two classes: the ruling community of Roman citizens numbering about 1,400,000, and the subjects outside the Roman state proper.

216. The Roman citizens enjoyed the four rights of Roman citizenship: —

Private rights: (1) To hold property in any of Rome's possessions; (2) to intermarry in any Roman community;

Public rights: (1) To hold office in Rome; (2) to vote in Rome.

The badge of the possession of these rights was the enrollment in one of the tribes. The number of the tribes had been increased to 35. Whereas at the time of the organization (§ 207) a man could transfer himself to another tribe simply by moving into it, now those once enrolled in one tribe remained with it no

matter where they fixed their abode, and their descendants, too, became members of the same tribe.

Only a small number of the citizens actually lived in Rome or in the neighborhood. Many dwelled in places called *municipia* and *Roman colonies*. The municipia were cities acquired by peaceful means or otherwise, which had been given full citizenship. The Roman colonies were founded by settling Roman citizens in some important spot, chiefly for military purposes. The colonies helped to make rebellions of the subject nations impossible. Both municipia and Roman colonies enjoyed home rule, that is, they controlled their local affairs independently of Rome. However, if they wished to make use of their right to vote, they had to go to Rome. (See § 109, and *H. T. F.*, "Representative Government.")

The organization of bodies like the municipia and Roman colonies with the privilege of local self-government is a new contribution to the art of ruling. The municipia in particular had another advantage in that they were a means of increasing the number of citizens. Athens, which had something like colonies in its cleruchies (§ 107), never admitted allied or conquered cities to full citizenship as the Romans did in the case of municipia.

217. The subject communities differed greatly in the possession of privileges. There were three classes: —

(*a*) *The Latin colonies* differed from the Roman colonies in that their inhabitants possessed only the private rights of Roman citizenship, though they enjoyed complete home rule. The Latin colonies, too, were founded for the defense of threatened localities, often in the heart of a subjected nation, in order to prevent attacks and risings. The colonists came from the poorer Roman citizens, who gladly gave up their public rights in return for a substantial farm. — Both the Roman and the Latin colonies spread the views, customs, and language of Rome through all the parts of Italy and thus greatly promoted the unification of the peninsula.

(*b*) *The allies*, the most numerous class among the Italians, had neither the private nor the public rights of citizenship, but retained self-government in local affairs. Each city or tribe was individually joined to Rome by a special treaty, and these treaties varied widely.

(*c*) *The prefectures* were the least numerous. They were the lowest rung of the ladder. They had neither public nor private rights nor self-government. Their local affairs were administered for them by " prefects " sent from Rome.

218. Rome's Relation to the Subject Communities. — Rome's grasp on all the various classes of subject was firm and efficient. They were most strictly isolated. Alliances among them or with other powers and the coining of money were prohibited. Each city had to deal directly with Rome, and Rome alone. Commonly a city had not even the right to carry on commerce with any other city except through Rome. Often the roads existing between larger cities were destroyed and only those were left that led to Rome. At this time the burdens placed on the subjects were not heavy; they consisted chiefly in moderate levies for the Roman army.

On the other hand, Rome defended the interests of the subjects, kept up law and order, and made impossible the disastrous wars they had been waging formerly. It kept them in good humor by not interfering with local customs and religion, and by holding out the hope that they might rise to a higher class by good behavior and might eventually even receive the full rights of Roman citizenship.

219. The Roman roads were a very peculiar feature of the administration of Italy by the imperial city. They were devised in the first place for military purposes. During the second Samnite War Rome began the construction of the famous *Via Appia*, Appian Way, so named after the censor Appius Claudius, to connect Rome with Campania. Afterwards all Italy, and then the growing empire outside Italy, were traversed by a network of such roads. Nothing was permitted to obstruct their course.

Mountains were tunneled; rivers were bridged; marshes were spanned for miles by viaducts of masonry. They were so well built that even to-day some parts of them are in good condition and still "mark the lands where once the Roman ruled." Though designed as military highways, they no less helped peaceful intercourse of all kinds and were one of the material links that bound Italy together (§ 71).

ITALIAN LANDSCAPE

The Appian Way is in the foreground, and the remains of an aqueduct in the rear. These arches support a channel which carries the water from some good spring, often ten or more miles away, to the city. In some places the channel was on the surface, in others underground. The first such aqueduct was built in 312 B.C. At the time of the emperors the aqueducts poured every day 330,000,000 gallons of excellent water into the city of Rome.

GOVERNMENT OF ROME ITSELF

220. The officers of the state were of two classes: (1) *curule magistrates*, who had the right to sit in the assemblies upon the "curule chair," a sort of ivory campstool. They were: the two

consuls, officially the heads of the state (§ 202); the two *praetors*, supreme judges (§ 210); the two *curule aediles*, with oversight over police and public works; the two *censors* (§ 208); and the *dictator*, appointed in critical times only (§ 202).

(2) *Non-curule magistrates:* two *plebeian aediles*, with duties like those of the curule aediles; *eight quaestors*, in charge of the treasury, and with some judicial power; the *ten tribunes* (§ 205). The office of the tribunes, though less in dignity than the curule offices, was perhaps the most important of all, on account of the tremendous power of veto.

221. The three assemblies continued to exist side by side. But that of the curias lost practically all its importance and its meetings were a mere formality. The Assembly of the Centuries elected consuls, censors, and praetors, all other officers being elected in the Assembly of the Tribes, in which the patricians now regularly took part.

Important changes concerning the assemblies:

(*a*) While formerly only the landholders were enrolled in the tribes, since 312 all the citizens were enrolled, but the landless ones were confined to the four city tribes, so that they could not outvote the rural landowners.

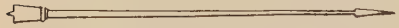
(*b*) The five classes received each an equal number of centuries and thereby an equal number of votes in the Assembly of the Centuries (§ 200).

(*c*) The senate lost its veto on the decrees of the Assembly of the Tribes, having lost its veto on the elections in the Assembly of the Centuries some years before.

All this meant an enormous legal gain for the democratic elements. The whole power *by law* rested in the assemblies, with the Senate acting as advisory board. In reality things were different.

222. The Senate. — The censors filled vacancies in the Senate from those who had held a curule office. Thus the Senate, too, was elective indirectly, though its members held office for life. Hence in that body there gathered an enormous amount of prac-

tical experience and statesmanlike wisdom, acquired especially through dealing with the complicated conditions induced by the wars. It was here that the admirable, though in many ways selfish, organization of Italy had been devised. The consuls could not afford to neglect a body so eminently fitted for advice in matters of state and in the direction of foreign affairs. Nor would they venture to propose any law or measure in the assemblies, unless it had been discussed and sanctioned beforehand by the Senate. Thus, though without the veto power on the assemblies, the Senate really controlled their proceedings. Moreover, all the curule officers hoped to get into the Senate. So they must keep on good terms with it, in order not to be antagonized when they had become members.



Iron Head of a Javelin

The javelin, not destined for thrusting but for throwing, consisted of a heavy wooden shaft about three feet long, and an iron head of the same length. The iron was very thin, so that upon striking it easily became bent, and could not be thrown back by the enemy.

223. A new nobility arose from those who had held a curule office. Each such official by law transmitted to his descendants the right to keep upon the walls of his home the wax masks of ancestors, and to have them carried in procession at the funeral of a member of the family. There were only several hundred families of this kind. They were called *nobiles*, or the *senatorial order*, because it was from their ranks that the Senate was recruited. To prevent the coming up of new men into this class, a law was passed prescribing that nobody should be eligible for the lowest curule office, the curule aedileship, before he had been quaestor. So if an undesirable person had been quaestor, he could still be kept out when running for curule aedile. This narrow exclusive class of the nobles controlled the government of Rome through the Senate, in spite of democratic assemblies.

224. The Roman Army. — We have seen that the Roman army was organized under the kings into 193 centuries, and the weapons each soldier had to equip himself with were determined. Later,

in the wars with the Italians, one armament was prescribed for all classes, except the horsemen and the very poorest citizens. Originally this army fought as the Greeks did, in close array, several men deep. This, too, was gradually given up. The soldiers were so arranged in battle that there was a space between each two men wide enough to allow another to come in. This gave them elbow room for the hand-to-hand fight. When one order of soldiers was tired, another would come up into the spaces between the fighters, while these retreated through the gaps between the newcomers. Thus a constant pressure could be brought to bear upon the enemy.

Roman Soldiers

The one to the left is ready to start on a day's march. His belongings are tied to the upper end of a pole. He will hold them aloft when marching. The pole is to be used in building the palisade of the next camp. The soldier to the right is ready for battle. The scabbard of his short sword is worn on the right side, so as not to interfere with the movements of the shield in fighting. Note the kind of armor. The spear is not the light javelin referred to in the text but the stout weapon used in older times.

The soldiers wore a helmet, breastplate, and greaves (to protect the shins), an oblong shield, and a short sword. Each man in the front ranks besides the ordinary equipment had two javelins with thin, long spearheads, to be hurled into the front lines of the enemy. While these were smarting under the wounds, or trying to free themselves from the javelins, the Romans rushed upon them with their short swords. (At the time of which we speak, one order of the Romans also had stout, long lances for thrusting.) With these weapons Rome conquered the world.

The Romans had a certain definite plan for their *camps*. One Roman camp looked like another. There was a place for the general's tent and for each of the several classes of soldiers. Every man knew where to find his resting place for the night even in a new camp. The camp was always protected by a rampart.

Discipline was severe. The general could have a soldier scourged or beheaded without a trial.

225. Later Changes in the Military System. — For a long time the army was a citizens' army. Every Roman was liable to service from the seventeenth to the forty-fifth year of his life. The first innovation, caused by the long wars, consisted in the introduction of pay. When large armies began to be needed mercenary troops were hired, who commonly remained in service for a long time. Thus gradually a class of professional soldiery developed, especially during the wars which we are going to study next. Another important change refers to the appointment of commanders. When a consul was at the head of an army in a far distant land, they often did not take the command from him at the end of his year of office. Instead they gave him the title of *proconsul* and prolonged his command. — Later on proconsuls were also made governors of certain provinces.

ROMAN SOCIETY ABOUT 300 B.C.

The time from 367 to about 299 B.C. was the noblest period of Roman virtue and vigor. The old distinction between patricians and plebeians was practically gone. A new aristocracy of office grew up and was now in its best age, the "age of service." The new nobles wanted to rule, but they were also resolved to do their best by the Roman state. It was the Roman people of this age who made Rome the mistress of Italy and started her on her conquest of the world.

226. The People. — The average Roman citizen was still a *yeoman farmer* and worked his little farm with his own hands and with the help of his wife and children. He raised the ordinary cattle and cultivated wheat and barley on his fields; beans, onions, turnips, and cabbage in his garden; and figs, olives, apples, plums, and pears in his orchard. What he did not need

himself he brought to market for sale. In the cities *the craftsmen*, such as carpenters, shoemakers, dyers, laundrymen, potters, coppersmiths, etc., were organized in *gilds* for mutual assistance, not for the purpose of raising prices or wages. Once, however, a gild of fluteplayers "struck" for greater privileges. Though there were of course rich and very rich Romans, the cases of extreme poverty do not seem to have been numerous at this time. At any rate, the foundation of the many Roman and Latin colonies served greatly to reduce the number of the very poor. Slavery, too, existed, and was fostered by the brutal custom of selling the populations of conquered towns into bondage. But the slaves of this period were as a rule not treated inhumanly. Historians, think, too, that liberation of slaves was very common, and that many of those who went on Latin colonies were freed slaves (freedmen).

Many of the very rich Romans were still actual farmers, not only owners of large farms. They shared with their family and free and slave workers all the ordinary labors of rural life. They looked down with contempt upon the craftsman in his shop, and the merchant who made money by commerce. This latter occupation, however, later on rose in the esteem of many on account of the huge profits it enabled the merchant to make. As yet the sterling Roman was no merchant.

227. The Roman money is an interesting study. The original coin was an amount of copper which actually represented the value of a sheep. The word for money, *pecunia*, came from the word for herd, *pecus*. Later the coin received the round shape, and the law regulated the various pieces exactly as to weight. Silver came into use much later. Those Italian cities which were granted the right of coinage had to conform strictly to the Roman standard.

228. The houses and furniture continued to be very simple. It was a long time before the rich began to possess silver utensils. The principal meal was taken at noon, consisting chiefly of a "porridge" of wheat or barley flour, with pork in the shape of sausage, and bread baked in round flat cakes. Wine.

mixed with water, was coming into general use toward the end of this period.

The **dress** was as simple as the food. The main garment of the men was a short-sleeved woolen shirt, the *tunic*, reaching to the knees. This was the common dress for the house, workshop, and field. The women wore a long tunic and over it a shorter one, and for the street a blanket-wrap. On all great occasions, when in office or merely attending the assemblies, the Roman citizen wore the *toga*, the solemn garb of state. It was a white woolen blanket, thrown about the body in graceful folds. It had neither hooks and eyes, nor buttons, nor belt. It had to be held all the time with arm or hand. With some changes in the way of wearing it the Roman toga, which no doubt lent a certain majesty to the appearance, remained in use for a thousand years.

ROMAN WEARING THE TOGA
In the Vatican Museum, Rome.

229. Education, imparted to the boys of the rich in private schools by Greek slaves or freedmen, included only the three R's. There was no poetry, no reading of other literature, no attempt to give the young mind anything like a higher culture. The Roman was exclusively practical. The Twelve Tables were committed to memory, because this knowledge was necessary for the political career and for use in courts. The Romans of this time cared nothing for sciences, and less for belles-lettres, or philosophy. Only after the conquest of *Magna Graecia* did Greek culture slowly find its way into

Roman society. The times of Cicero, however, were still far away.

In architecture, too, the Romans were exclusively practical. The many structures erected at this period, which rightly rouse our admiration, were such as bridges, roads, aqueducts. They made extensive use of the arch. Though some very imperfect sort of arch was here and there employed by the Greeks and even the Babylonians, it is the Romans who fully introduced it into the art of building. The arch is the great contribution of the Romans to the architecture of Europe. (See, however, § 192 and pages 166 and 167.)

230. The Roman ideal was the willingness to sink personal advantages for the public weal. The greatness of the state was his ultimate goal. For this end he was abstemious, obedient to law, self-controlled, but also rapacious and cruel. He practiced generosity toward a beaten foe only when it was demanded by political cunning. Otherwise the noblest adversary could count only on the most merciless punishment.

CHAPTER XIX

CONQUEST OF THE WESTERN MEDITERRANEAN

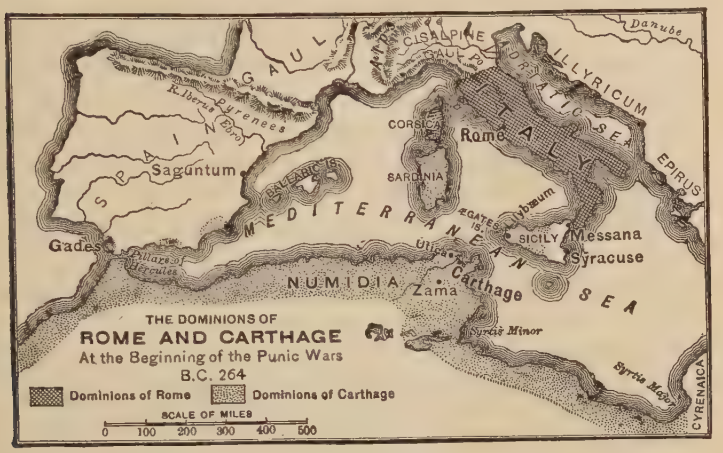
ROME AND CARTHAGE COMPARED

By the conquest of Italy, Rome had become a new great power on the Mediterranean. On the shores of that midland ocean there extended in the east the kingdoms of Egypt, Syria, and Macedonia, the heirs of the empire of Alexander the Great (see § 183). In the west there were now two states, both of them republics, Rome and Carthage. Carthage, the ancient foundation of the Phoenicians (§ 53), had on the whole successfully withstood the encroachment of the Hellenic cities in Sicily. But now the boundaries of Rome were several hundred miles nearer to those of the Carthaginian possessions, though still separated by the districts of some Greek towns. Since both parties were bent on extending their dominions, it was evident that a bloody conflict was to come. Like that of the Greeks against the Persians, it was to be a war between Europe and Asia, Asia being represented by the great Phoenician colony situated on the opposite shore of Africa.

231. Carthaginian Culture. — Being in constant touch with the highly developed civilization of the Orient, the Carthaginians possessed everything that made for material refinement, though their own artists and craftsmen were imitators rather than originators. Of their poetry, philosophy, science, etc., we have no records, probably because of the thorough destruction of the city by the Romans. Their religion, however, was the gloomy worship of the old Phoenician gods, attended by great lasciviousness and numerous human sacrifices (§ 54).

232. The Resources of the Two Powers. — Rome was at the head of a well-knit state, with most of its men having a direct interest in the common cause as citizens, and the rest tied to

them by bonds of loyalty and the hope of reward. None of them had anything to gain if Rome was defeated, but much to hope for if Rome was victorious. Rome had an excellent army. Her greatest weakness was the *lack of a navy*. In Carthage a limited number of very rich people held all the political power. The subject cities and regions were either loaded down with heavy tribute or practically treated as slaves. None of them had any interest in the victory of the ruling merchants of the capital. Her



armies consisted entirely of mercenaries. One of her troubles was the spirit of mutiny among soldiers. Her navy, however, was the first in the world. It made her a formidable opponent wherever ships could be of service.

233. The real cause of the wars between Rome and Carthage was the mutual jealousy of the two states. Carthage not without reason considered the enormous increase in Roman power resulting from the Italian wars as a threat to herself. She did not think Rome would stop at the shores of Italy. Rome, on the other hand, noticed with alarm how her rival gained ground in Sicily, and feared that, with this large island under her control, Carthage would not hesitate to cross the narrow strait between

Sicily and the Italian peninsula. The three wars which resulted are known as the *Punic Wars,* Punic being another word for Phoenician.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR, 264–241 B.C.

234. Occasion. — A band of mercenaries, who had been dismissed by the tyrant of Syracuse, instead of marching home, took possession of the city of Messana, and from this stronghold harassed the whole northeast corner of Sicily for many years. The tyrant of Syracuse, "King" Hiero, undertook a war against them. One party of them appealed to Rome, the other to Carthage for aid. Rome decided to aid the mercenaries who had appealed to her. In 264 her legions for the first time crossed the sea. They found the Carthaginians already in possession of Messana. The First Punic War had begun.

235. The War. — For many years Rome could make no headway, because Carthage was the undisputed mistress of the sea. She reinforced her troops on the island at pleasure, and made good the threat that without her consent no Roman soldier would wash his hands in the sea. But the Romans, too, built a fleet, and successfully met the Queen of the Seas in her own element. They had fitted out their galleys with bridges, some five or six feet wide, which before the battle were raised on one end. When a Roman ship came near enough to a Carthaginian, they let the bridge fall upon the latter, and an iron hook would engage and hold it. The Roman soldiers could rush over, and thus change the sea battle into a land battle. After their first great naval victory the Roman consul Regulus boldly crossed over to Africa and inflicted several defeats upon the enemy in their own country. But the following period of the war again made Sicily the scene of the contest.

The Carthaginian hero Hamilcar established himself with a small force upon the summit of a rugged mountain, and for six years kept large Roman armies in check. His troops grew their own food on the slopes. Unexpectedly, he would swoop down,

eagle-like, to strike telling blows — earning from friend and foe the surname *Barca*, "Lightning." Through lack of naval ability in the commanders the Romans lost four fleets with armies on board. One sixth of her citizens had perished. The treasury was empty. In this critical time private capital came to the rescue. Lavish loans built and equipped a fleet of two hundred vessels, which won a brilliant victory. This ended the war.

236. Peace. — Carthage gave up all possessions in Sicily. King Hiero of Syracuse, who had been a faithful ally of Rome, retained his dominions. The rest of the island became Roman. It was the first land outside of Italy to which Roman dominion extended. It was not admitted in any way into the Roman system which existed in Italy. It became a Roman **province.** (The manner of government of provinces will be explained in § 265.) Besides giving up Sicily, Carthage paid a very heavy war indemnity.

237. Between the First and the Second Punic Wars the Romans made several important conquests. They put down a revolt of Carthaginian mercenaries in the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, forced the Carthaginians to pay the cost of the expedition, and then, contrary to right and justice, retained the islands for themselves. They defeated a band of pirates in Illyricum, on the Adriatic, who had greatly disturbed Greek commerce, and though they occupied no new territory, they taught the Greek cities to look to Rome for aid against oppression. And when the Gauls to the north, alarmed by the establishment of colonies near their border, invaded the Roman domain, the Romans in a vigorous campaign subjected Gaul as far as the Alps.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR, 218–202 B.C.

238. The Barca Family — Carthaginian Conquest of Spain. — The cause of the enmity between the great rivals, Rome and Carthage, had by no means disappeared. On the contrary, the

THE MEDITERRANEAN LANDS

AT THE BEGINNING OF THE

SECOND PUNIC WAR

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400

Roman Possessions and Allies
Carthaginian " "
Macedonian " "
Hannibal's Route

Free Greek States
Syrian Possessions
Egyptian "

5 Longitude West 0 5 Longitude 10 East

the Seleucidae had
extent to the East
wn on this map.

men, had left Spain, crossed the Pyrenees, fought and bought his way through southern Gaul, and now the news came to Rome, like a thunderbolt, that he was already in the valleys of the Alps on his way to Italy. Hastily the consuls returned, to meet with two defeats at his hands in the valley of the Po. The Gauls of that wide country, just subdued forcibly by Rome, received Hannibal as deliverer and flocked to his standards. The following spring he marched south, ambushed a Roman army of forty thousand men blinded with morning fog on *Lake Trasimene*, and annihilated it completely.

The Roman allies, however, instead of following the example of the Gauls, remained faithful to Rome, though Hannibal returned their prisoners to them without ransom, and spared their territories, while he frightfully devastated those of the Roman citizens. He could not think of attacking Rome. He marched through the hill country down to the south. For some time a Roman dictator, Fabius Maximus, kept him at bay by following him closely and inflicting losses upon him, but avoiding a pitched battle.

241. The Battle of Cannae. — Fabius, surnamed *Cunctator*, the Laggard, was succeeded by two consuls who were more convinced of the invincibility of the Roman army. They followed Hannibal to **Cannae**, and forced him to battle. He had only forty thousand men against their ninety thousand. But he never attacked as his enemies expected. Within a short time the whole Roman army was entirely surrounded, and then began "a carnival of cold steel, a butchery." Hannibal lost six thousand men, the Romans eighty thousand in prisoners and dead. It was the most terrible defeat the Romans had ever suffered. *A fifth of the fighting population, a fourth of the senate, nearly all the officers, and one of the consuls had perished.*

242. The Romans after the Battle of Cannae. — The sterling character of the Romans never showed more gloriously than after this terrible blow. Although most of the allied tribes and cities of the south of Italy, among them the mighty Capua, now joined

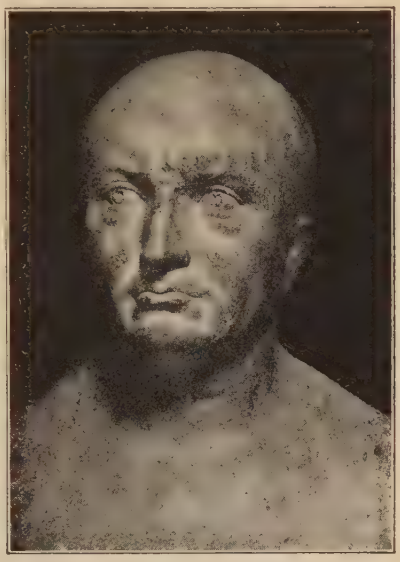
the invader, Rome refused to treat with Hannibal, even about the exchange or redemption of the captives. Instead of recalling their small forces from Sicily and Spain, they increased them considerably, and began to wage war vigorously in these distant lands. By superhuman exertion they raised their fighting strength to 150,000 men.

The Carthaginians meanwhile lost their opportunity. The aristocrats of Carthage had never had much liking for the Barca family. They left Hannibal without further support, and did little for the protection of Syracuse in Sicily, which had concluded an alliance with them. They made no effort to regain their superiority at sea.

In constant minor war operations Hannibal's forces slowly dwindled away, and he tried in vain to strengthen them by alliances with other states. The Romans took Syracuse after a three years' siege and reduced it to a condition in which it was no longer a commercial rival of Rome. New forces were hurried over to Spain, after Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, had inflicted a dreadful defeat upon the Romans. The Romans laid siege to Capua, which Hannibal had made his headquarters. To draw the besiegers away he marched against Rome itself and ravaged the fields to its very walls. There was a terrible fright in the city. The cry, *Hannibal ante portas*, "Hannibal is before the gates," remained for centuries the expression for the highest degree of danger. But the Senate did not lose its head. Just then an army was dispatched to Spain. Hannibal was too weak to undertake a real siege or even an assault. The Romans did not give up the siege of Capua, and that city soon paid by a fearful punishment for its defection.

243. The Last Efforts of the War. — In Spain Hasdrubal had meanwhile gathered another large army, had eluded the Roman commander, and had set out to join his brother in Italy. The Romans captured a messenger with communications for Hannibal, telling him of the details of Hasdrubal's approach. They immediately turned against the new invader with overwhelming forces,

and defeated and killed him on the *Metaurus River* in 207 B.C. When Hannibal saw his brother's head thrown with brutal barbarity into his camp, he exclaimed, "Now I see the fate of Carthage." He was right. After a few more years, Carthage was obliged to call him to the defense of her own walls, because a Roman army under Publius Cornelius Scipio had landed in Africa. With tears in his eyes he left the land in which for seventeen years he had been fighting and conquering, unvanquished on the field of battle, but betrayed by the apathy and envy of his own countrymen. At *Zama* he met his first and last defeat.



Scipio Africanus Major
A marble bust in the Capitoline Museum of Rome.

244. Peace — 201 B.C. — Rome imposed cruel conditions. Carthage had to give up all her possessions outside of Africa; deliver up her warships save ten; pay a huge war indemnity which was intended to keep her poor for many years; and promise to wage no war except with Rome's permission. Rome was now the undisputed mistress of the western Mediterranean. She honored the victorious Scipio by bestowing upon him the surname *Africanus*.

245. Between the Second and the Third Punic Wars Rome secured and extended her conquests. Several cruel campaigns "pacified" Cisalpine Gaul in the region of the Po River. Roman bravery and generalship and their breaking of the most solemn

pledges secured the submission of Spain; and Roman colonies and commerce served efficiently to Romanize the land and the people. By a friendly alliance, concluded years before, the acquisition of southern Gaul was prepared, which country in due time also became a Roman province.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR

246. Cause and Occasion. — Under the able administration of Hannibal, Carthage began slowly to recover her prosperity. Though the taxes were not raised she paid her war indemnity regularly. The lower classes of the citizens were admitted to participate in political life. Her commerce, too, increased noticeably. Meanwhile in Rome the merchant class, using the enormous opportunities created by the latest wars, grew in importance, and viewed with envy the new success of the rival. The old senator, Porcius Cato, the living embodiment of all that was great and mean in the Roman character, saw with his own eyes, on the occasion of an embassy, the flourishing condition of Carthage. From that time on he concluded every speech on any subject in the Senate with the words: "and for the rest I think that Carthage ought to be destroyed." Commercial rivalry was by far the most prominent cause of the Third Punic War. It was not difficult to find an *occasion*. The Numidian king, Masinissa, perhaps instigated by Rome, took piece after piece of Carthaginian territory. Roman embassies, sent to investigate, invariably declared Carthage in the wrong. Finally Carthage, contrary to one of the conditions of the peace, went to war against Masinissa, and sent an embassy to Rome to explain the matter. Rome was glad. It declared war without delay.

247. The Third Punic War. — A formidable army of 80,000 men landed in Africa. The trembling Carthaginians were told to deliver all their warlike stores. In long lines of wagons 200,000 stands of arms with vast military supplies were sent to the Roman camp and all their shipping was surrendered. Then came the final verdict: Carthage must be abandoned; the

citizens may settle in four open villages, eighty stadia (about ten miles) from the sea.

Despair blazed into passionate wrath, and the Carthaginians chose death rather than ruin and exile. The town became one huge workshop. Rich and poor and slaves labored feverishly. Women gave their hair for the strings of war engines. The temples and houses were dismantled for timber and metal. Carthage stood a four years' siege, holding out heroically against famine and pestilence. But the end was inevitable, though the Romans had to conquer the city house by house. Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, nephew and adopted son of the first Scipio, was the conqueror. By express order of the Senate, Carthage was given to the flames, and what was left of the population was sold into slavery.

It was the end of Carthage. Its territory became a Roman province under the name of *Africa*. The disappearance of Carthaginian commerce meant an enormous profit for the Roman merchants and money kings, who thus were rid of a most powerful competitor. — The younger Scipio too received the surname *Africanus*.

While we condemn the brutality and faithlessness by which the Romans did away with the African rival, we cannot but recognize that unwittingly they bestowed a benefit upon mankind, and upon Europe in particular. A victory for Carthage would have been a calamity for true culture. It would have brought to posterity the cultural elements of Asia, which were by far inferior to those of Hellas. Our civilization was destined to come from Greece.

CHAPTER XX

CONQUEST OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

We have seen how the conquest of the western lands of the Mediterranean was continued and, in a way, finished during the half century following the Second Punic War. During the same half century Rome also strenuously began the conquest of the lands on the eastern part of that sea. These wars we shall have to study now. The great powers in the East were Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt. The Romans never fought a war with Egypt. This rich country fell their prey in consequence of a series of wars with the two other states, Macedonia and Syria.

248. First Macedonian War. — When the Romans victoriously attacked the Illyrian pirate states (§ 237), the King of Macedonia, Philip V, began to realize that after some time the aggressive Italian commonwealth might come to attack his own power also, especially since Rome was already in friendly relations with some Greek cities. So during the Second Punic War he joined Hannibal. The Romans, through their Greek allies, waged against him the *First Macedonian War*. It closed before the end of the Second Punic War without much gain or loss.

249. The Second Macedonian War, 201–196, was all of Philip's making, though it was welcomed by the politicians and the money men of Rome. Philip attacked Greek cities which were Rome's confederates, and with King Antiochus of Syria planned a division of territory belonging to Egypt, a country with which Rome also had an alliance. The war dragged on for several years because of the inability of the generals. But when Flamininus, a friend of Scipio, the conqueror of Zama, was appointed leader, fortune turned. In the battle of *Cynoscephalae*

(Dogs' Heads) Philip was decisively defeated. His phalanx could not stand against the flexible array of the Roman legions. Philip V had to diminish his army to 5000 men, deliver up all but ten of his warships, and confine his power strictly to Macedonia. This country was now a second-rate power. Flamininus declared all the Greek states "free," which meant that Rome controlled the foreign relations of each of them. Rome annexed no territory for herself.

250. The war with Syria, 192–189, was similarly brought on by the aggressions of Antiochus III against Egypt and Greece.[1] The blunders of Antiochus and the excellent generalship of Lucius Scipio, who was assisted by his brother, the victor of Carthage, made this war a brilliant success for the Roman arms. The decisive battle was fought at *Magnesia* on the coast of Asia Minor. Again Rome took no territory. Antiochus III had to pay an enormous war indemnity, reduce his army, and give up large provinces to the smaller states in Asia Minor, which became Rome's allies. Syria was no longer to be feared.

251. The Third Macedonian War, 171–168. — By his endeavors to shake off the restrictions imposed by the Romans upon Macedonia, Perseus, son of Philip V, provoked a new war. He found allies among the Greeks, who felt that their "freedom" under Roman control did not permit them their ceaseless warfare with one another. The battle of *Pydna* sealed Macedonia's fate. Perseus was carried to Rome as prisoner. His land was divided into four "independent" republics under Roman supervision. When these made another attempt to restore the old monarchy, the Romans annexed the land and organized it into the first Roman province in the East.

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[1] At this time Hannibal, who had fled from Carthage to escape Roman persecution, was with Antiochus III. The enormous resources of Syria, if put at the disposal of the statesmanship and generalship of the unequaled Carthaginian, would have proved fatal to Rome. But Antiochus III was too little of a ruler to utilize the talents of others. At the end of the war Hannibal fled to the king of Bithynia, and when the Romans continued to pursue him he disgraced his grand career by taking poison.

252. War with the Greek States. — A severe punishment was inflicted upon those Greeks who had openly sided with Perseus or had not given the Romans that whole-hearted support which they expected. Some twenty years after the battle of Pydna the Achaean League, practically alone, renewed the war against Rome. The end was to be foreseen. Chiefly at the instigation of the merchant class, Corinth was completely destroyed in the same year in which Carthage sank in ashes, 146. The Greek cities still retained a vestige of home rule with the aristocrats in power. For a time the Roman governor of the province of Macedonia controlled Greece also. Later it became a separate Roman province under the name of *Achaia.*

253. Further Conquests. — Among those states which had been favored after the war with Syria (§ 250) was *Pergamum,* which indeed included a considerable part of western Asia Minor. The King of Pergamum, to keep himself in possession of his power while he lived, willed the land to Rome. Upon his demise Rome made it into a province under the name of *Asia.* There existed also a confederacy of *Rhodes,* which through all the wars had faithfully assisted the Romans. Now her services were no longer needed, but her trade was an obstacle to the enterprises of Roman financiers. Rome was mean enough to deprive her of her little power and to throttle her commerce. The island remained, however, a foremost seat of learning for many centuries more.

254. Retrospect of the Century of Conquest, 264–146. — We should realize the magnitude of the Roman achievements during this period. When the First Punic War began, Rome was one of five world powers. (See beginning of chapter XIX, page 186.) Now she was the only one. Carthage and Macedonia were no more. Syria was dependent and helpless. Egypt was in submissive alliance with the Queen of the World. The most utopian political dreams had become a reality. The spoils taken from Hellenic and Macedonian cities were so enormous, and the tributes from provinces and other "confederates" so ample that

taxation of citizens could be stopped. The fabulous success produced an unbounded pride, and increased the old Roman selfishness and brutality.

Roman Power in 146 b.c.

Yet the Roman rule was not without great benefits to the conquered. Above all, the wars, large and small, that had torn the Mediterranean world, with all their destruction of life and goods and happiness, were now a thing of the past. Rome settled all disputes between her "subjects" — fairly and justly, too, unless the interests of the lords on the Tiber were at stake. Rome extended to the newly conquered lands her system of roads and saw to it that these were safe for travel.

CHAPTER XXI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS ABOUT 140 B.C.

The almost uninterrupted wars, the influx of enormous wealth to Rome, partly as booty, partly as tribute, greatly changed the relation of rich and poor, of mighty and helpless, in the Roman world, above all in the capital itself. The old distinction between patricians and plebeians had almost disappeared from view. The new conditions gave rise to new classes, chiefly the rich and the poor. A new struggle began, a fight against crying economic evils, combined with a fierce contest for political power.

THE RULING CLASSES IN ROME

255. The Roman Capitalists. — Rome had become the greatest business center of the world. The Roman soldier had put his sword and his torch into the service of the money men and had wiped out or crippled one commercial rival after another. Only a few cities in the Orient retained their position as business capitals. The rich business men of Rome were organized in companies, as is the case in our own days. They profited by every war. They advanced to the government the money necessary to equip fleets and armies, and received it back at high interest after the victories. Nor did they hesitate to defraud the government whenever they had a chance. Their agents were on the spot, when, after a victory, the prisoners of war or the inhabitants of a captured city were sold into slavery. They bought these unfortunates at very low prices and sold them at huge profits in the slave markets. (Between 209 and 168 about a million prisoners were thus enslaved.) The conquest of the Orient inaugurated a brisk commerce in delicious foodstuffs, fineries of all

kinds, and the productions of Oriental art. The greatest article was perhaps grain, which could be much more cheaply carried from Egypt and other countries than produced in Italy.

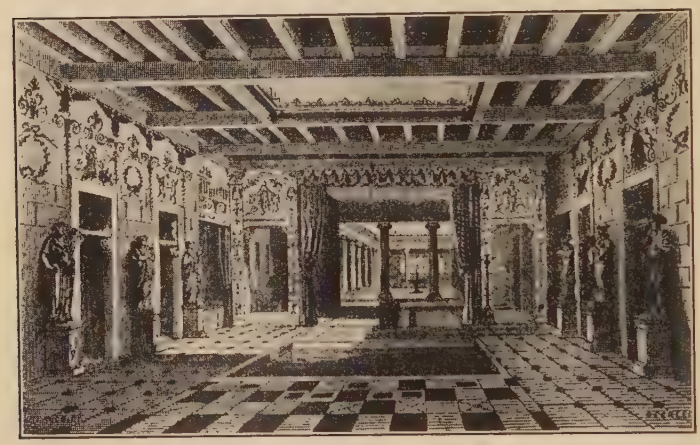
The farming of taxes was another source of enormous gains for the capitalists. The state employed no tax collectors. Instead of bothering with the direct gathering of the taxes, the government sold to the great business corporations the right of collecting the revenues of provinces and districts. Naturally the sum paid down by them was much smaller than the amount of the taxes because the "tax farmer" had to bear the expenses of the collection and the risk of perhaps not getting all he could claim. As a rule these tax farmers (the "publicans" of the Gospel) made gigantic profits. They knew how to squeeze out much more than they were permitted. The governor of the province either was in the game and received his share in the profits, or had committed similar outrages and could not afford making enemies.

256. The Knights. — There had developed in Rome two political parties, the "nobles" and the common people (§ 223). Now the great business men formed a third party, the *knights*. As we saw in § 200, the very richest citizens were enrolled as knights in the ancient military division of Rome. In the course of time the military duties of these knights dwindled down to a mere semblance of what they had been, and consisted chiefly in showy processions on certain great occasions. The horsemen actually used in the army were recruited from other sources. Nevertheless the several thousands of the richest Roman Croesuses continued to be enrolled in the old lists, and they felt very proud of this honor. Thus the Roman knights were in reality the chief representatives of the business world.

Though these business men could not hold offices or sit in the Senate, they wielded a powerful influence in politics. The government, which had only a very rudimentary financial system, depended on them, and they knew how to keep senators, consuls, and other magistrates pliable and subservient. They could let

the magistrates or senators participate in their gains, or come to their rescue with a loan, *e.g.*, for an election campaign. At times, however, they were at war with the senatorial party. Their only viewpoint on every political question or enterprise was not whether it was justifiable, or useful to the state, but whether there was money in it for themselves.

257. The life of the rich had assumed the characteristics of Oriental luxury. Their houses had come to imitate the Greek



COURT IN A ROMAN HOUSE AT POMPEII

Restored. Unlike the court in the house of Delos (§ 154) the ceiling is not supported by columns. The opening in the ceiling appears, and below it a basin in the floor. A second court with a fountain in the center, which is visible in the rear, has its ceiling supported by columns around the opening. (From a wood cut.)

type. The rooms, including one or two sumptuous dining rooms, were grouped around a central hall. The pavement of the court, and many of the floors of the rooms, were ornamented with artistic mosaic. The walls were hung with costly brilliantly colored tapestries, the ceiling richly gilded. Sideboards held beautiful vases and gold and silver plate, and in various recesses stood glorious statues. The rich Roman had every sort of refinement

that could be bought with money. Slowly he made some progress in mental accomplishment also. He had sense enough to notice the intellectual superiority of the Greek. It gradually became fashionable to know something of the Greek literary masterpieces. In fact, one had to be able to speak Greek to be up-to-date. Meanwhile the Roman acquired also the Greek and Oriental vices in addition to his own. The contact with the East did not make the Roman morally better, but on the contrary helped greatly to lower the standard of public and private morality.

THE POORER CLASSES

258. The farming class decreased because of the many wars. This began chiefly with the Second Punic War. Hannibal's marches up and down the peninsula, attended by the usages common in warfare, *i.e.*, destruction of cities and towns and hamlets, with the devastation of farm lands, the enslavement of captives, and the destruction of human lives, and the brutal retaliation afterwards taken by the victorious Romans struck a terrible blow to the agricultural population. Similarly the replenishing of the Roman armies which were fighting in foreign lands drew more and more men from the peaceful Italian homesteads, many of whom were never to return. Those in power at Rome failed to set themselves the task of restoring the farming class. On the contrary they contributed to its decay with cruel selfishness by the establishment of "large estates."

259. The establishment of "large estates," *latifundia*, was another cause of the decrease of the farming class. The ordinary peasant, who worked only a moderate farm, was undersold by the grain merchants, who got their supply from overseas, and by the great landowner, who worked his farm by gangs of slaves. The nobles (§ 223), who were not allowed to engage in commerce, because they either held or aspired to offices, took to enlarging their estates. When a small farm became practically vacant by the death of its possessor in war, when the re-

turning warrior had conceived a dislike for peaceful but toilsome land labor, there was the rich noble who improved the condition by buying up the holdings. Often violence, secret and open, such as poisoning the cattle, trampling down the growing crop, and the like, would make the reluctant yeoman willing to sell. Moreover, the Licinian law (§ 207), prohibiting any individual from holding more than 300 acres of public land, had become a dead letter. The men in power grabbed as much of it as was desirable to round out their domains. To engross all the public land available they had stopped the founding of colonies.

Thus the latifundia were more and more dislodging the free small farmer. Territories which once had supported several hundred happy families of yeomen were now owned by one noble, and tilled by bondmen. This meant an incalculable loss for the commonwealth. The citizens of a state, generally speaking, ought to be producers or workers who are able at least to support themselves in frugal comfort. The growth of the latifundia did its share to destroy this class. It was one of those movements that tend to make the rich disproportionately rich, and the poor stark beggars.

260. Increase of the City Mob. — Where did the dislodged peasants go? Many of them had the money and the pluck to emigrate from Italy. A steady stream of sturdy peasants settled in the provinces of the west, where there were better prospects for enterprising industrious men. Here they helped to spread true Roman civilization and to enlarge the extent of the Latin tongue, besides gaining for themselves moderate or even large fortunes.

The bulk of the ex-farmers drifted into the cities, chiefly the capital, where it was hard to find work. Rome had no extensive industries, manufactured articles being preferably imported at low cost from the Orient. The industries which existed were largely served by slaves. The bakers, weavers, fullers, etc., catered only to the poor people, because the rich had all such work attended to by their domestic slaves. So the number of beggars was great in Rome. They could, however, still turn

their voting privilege to account. Some sold it for cash, others for the enjoyment of public amusements. Others attached themselves as "clients" to some rich "patron," who expected them to vote and agitate for him, and who in return supported them — sometimes generously, sometimes miserly. They all helped to swell the *city mob*, which was slowly but steadily increasing, and which, though as a rule easily swayed by the moneyed classes, was destined to play its part in Roman politics.

261. The public games had mostly grown out of religious festivals. They consisted of grand religious or other pageants, theatrical shows, and general merrymaking. The expenses of all of them were practically borne by the curule aediles (§ 220), who had officially to care for them. The aediles commonly intended to run for the praetorship at the next election (§ 223). So in order to win the votes of the people high and low, they squandered large sums on these entertainments. They would introduce wild beasts into the circus to fight with other beasts or with men. Hardly anything was liked better than the *gladiatorial shows*. These had been taken over from the Etruscans and quickly found favor with the Romans. Men called *gladiators* (from *gladius*, sword) fought each other to the death for the amusement of the spectators. At first the gladiators were captives taken in war. Soon these horrible games became commercialized. Companies would buy able-bodied slaves, drill them in gladiatorial schools, and hire them out for money to magistrates and private men who wished to make a Roman holiday. It is evident that this brutal amusement, for which the people clamored most eagerly, tended to debase morality and to engender a criminal contempt for human life.

262. The slave population, as hinted in § 255, had assumed enormous proportions. The student must not think of them as necessarily different in color and race from their masters. Some of them certainly were, but we should remember that both war and bold piracy brought the entire population of rich and highly cultured cities to the slave market. Many slaves from the East

or the Hellenic lands were much more educated and had been leading a more refined life than their Italian masters. The rich man bought himself secretaries, stewards, teachers for his children, clever cooks, and skilled craftsmen. These were commonly treated with some decency. But the greater part, especially those coming from barbarous and semibarbarous nations, and, as a rule, put to labor on the farms, were branded like cattle and forced to work in chains under the lash of overseers and to sleep in miserable quarters. The law did not prevent the owner from inflicting any kind of punishment, however revolting, even death, upon a slave. It is no wonder that the pent-up indignation and hatred conceived by the slaves against their masters at times vented itself in uprisings which worked enormous destruction on large territories and in some cases could be suppressed only by regular wars.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN ROME ABOUT 140 B.C.

263. Political changes in Rome were brought about in consequence of these new conditions, although the letter of the constitution remained unaltered. *The Senate* was no longer guided in its deliberations by those lofty principles of honesty and love of country which had once distinguished it. A great part of the senators thought merely of how to retain their power and increase their estates. *The Assembly of the Tribes* suffered under many disadvantages. Only those could vote in it who appeared personally in Rome. The collective votes of the four city tribes were practically controlled by the city mob, *i.e.*, by those who controlled the mob. The rural tribes near the city had lost many of their yeomen, whose property had been bought up by the nobles and knights. These now controlled the votes. The yeomen of the other tribes up and down Italy could rarely come to Rome, and their tribes were represented by the rich landowners. Besides, the time of the meeting could be so chosen that the yeomen were prevented, for instance, by the labors of the harvest season, from attending in large numbers. Thus

the rich had means to carry their favorite measures even in this bulwark of the lower classes. (*H. T. F.*, "Plebiscite.")

264. The subject Italians had petitioned for full citizenship after the Second Punic War, in which they had so heroically stood by the dominant city. But on this occasion as well as later the Senate haughtily refused to consider any such step. Instead, the distinction between citizens and non-citizens was drawn more sharply. The Latin colonies (§ 217) were treated almost like the allies. All had to put up with an incredible insolence. Once a Roman magistrate who stopped at an allied city had the city consul scourged because the common bath had not been quickly enough vacated for the use of his peevish wife. This was perhaps one of the worst cases. All the subject Italians felt keenly the contempt in which they were held. They became more and more ready to use force in order to obtain the admission to citizenship.

265. The Provinces. — The whole Roman government was originally that of a rural city, and as long as Rome was not much more than a rural city it worked admirably, though even for Italy it proved insufficient in the long run. When immense territories outside the peninsula had been acquired, the Roman statesmen were perfectly bewildered by the new task of giving them a good government. A good deal of sound political wisdom, combined with genuine Roman haughtiness and a nervous fear of rebellion, created the system of *provinces*.

The Romans rarely interfered with the local customs of cities or districts, least of all with the religion. They allowed extensive home rule. The tax or tribute which they imposed was generally smaller than what had been paid under the former rulers. Some cities had greater privileges than others. All, however, were under the governor (*propraetor* or *proconsul*), who possessed full dictatorial power. He was supreme judge. There was no appeal from his decisions. All his expenses were paid from the public treasury, and he drew no real salary. This resulted in the temptation, rarely resisted, to enrich himself by illegal means.

Commonly he was hand-in-glove with the tax-farmers (§ 255). Nor could he be sued for extortion during the time of his office, and after that only in Rome, which was far away. His judges, too, would be men who had already committed similar outrages or were expecting to become governors themselves or had a son or brother or friend who was waiting for a province to plunder.

The Roman possessions were an EMPIRE in the fullest sense of the word. There was one ruling community with absolutely unlimited power over large territories, a community which by way of fact looked upon every inhabitant of the provinces merely as a source of revenue. This was expressed in so many words by the saying: "The provinces are the farms of the Roman people." The Roman people defrayed all its state expenses from the revenues that came from these "farms." The provinces were in particular the farms of the rich. They were passed around among the members of the senatorial clique. And year after year they furnished an abundant harvest to the tax-farming knights.

CHAPTER XXII

A CENTURY OF CIVIL STRIFE

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS AND GAIUS GRACCHUS

266. The reforms needed were principally these:

(1) A system of elected representatives, such as exists in all our modern states, in order to enable all the citizens that lived at a distance from Rome to exert their influence in the central government. Such a system the ancient world never devised (§ 109).

(2) Some measure to prevent the wholesale bribery at the elections, as far as it could be prevented by human means. One step was indeed taken in this direction, the *introduction of the ballot.* This made impossible open attempts at forcing votes, but could not interfere with the bribery by donations, games, etc.

(3) The government needed to be taken from the senatorial class and put into responsible hands. This was not to come for a hundred years more, and then not in a manner liked by everybody.

(4) The position of the yeomen needed to be rendered more secure, and the poor in the cities to be restored to the land. This became the aim of Tiberius Gracchus, and to a great extent that of his brother Gaius Gracchus.

There had been one would-be reformer at Rome, *Porcius Cato* (§ 246). He saw the evil that was going on. By word and deed, especially when he had the powerful office of censor, he strove to remedy matters. But he did not see the root of the evil. He expelled a number of senators for private vices. He preached the hardiness of the ancestors. He inveighed against Greek learning. But all that did not reduce the unlawful power of senatorials or knights; nor did it preserve

one yeoman from losing his little farm. Just in this regard Cato himself gave a bad example. He bought out as many yeomen as he could, and worked his wide estates by slave labor.

267. TIBERIUS GRACCHUS was a grandson of the older Scipio Africanus, and a close friend of the younger Scipio Africanus. He had been the first to jump upon the walls of Carthage in that city's death struggle. Though a noble, his heart beat for the poor people. His keen mind discerned the cause of their miserable condition. He made his own the view of those who advocated a better distribution of the public lands.

He took up the old *law of Licinius* (§ 209) which prohibited the holding of more than 300 acres of such lands, and gave this law a shape which made it both milder and more effective.

(1) Those who held more than the lawful 300 acres were obliged to give up the surplus, *but could retain the 300 acres as their full property.* They might also retain in full ownership 160 acres more for each of their eldest two sons.

(2) The land thus reclaimed was to be given in small holdings to poor applicants, who, however, were to pay a small rent on it, and were not allowed to sell it (to prevent its falling again into the hands of the rich landowners).

(3) A permanent board of three was to superintend the reclaiming and redistributing of the public land.

268. The Passage of the Law. — In 133 Tiberius Gracchus proposed the law in the Tribal Assembly in his capacity as Tribune of the Plebs. The wealthy, above all the senatorial party, who were going to lose much unlawful property by this law, cried out that it was robbery. They won another tribune, Octavius, to veto the voting on it. Thereupon Tiberius Gracchus put the question to the vote of the tribes, whether he or Octavius should be deposed as tribune. The decision was unanimously against Octavius, and Tiberius Gracchus had him dragged from his seat. The great law was then passed.

Tiberius no doubt was convinced of the correctness of these acts. But by law a tribune could not be deposed. He might

have waited until the next election and procured the choice of tribunes of his own stamp. He committed another blunder. To secure his work he ran for tribune again the next year, though the law required an interval of ten years. These acts gave to his enemies pretexts for a campaign of slander, which on the day of the election ended in a riot. The more violent of the senators themselves with a band of followers broke into the Assembly, struck down the unsuspecting or undecided mob, and killed Tiberius Gracchus. Some three hundred of his adherents also were killed, and their bodies thrown into the Tiber. Whatever faults Tiberius Gracchus had committed, these brutal outrages were infinitely worse, and the party that resorted to them thereby showed its own bad conscience. But the great law remained in force. The commission continued to do its work zealously. In 125 B.C. the citizen list of Rome showed an increase of 80,000 farmers.

269. GAIUS GRACCHUS, the younger brother of Tiberius, took up the same work ten years later. In 123 B.C. Tiberius, he declared, had thus addressed him in a dream, "Why do you hesitate? You cannot escape your doom and mine, to live and die for the people." Gaius' plans were greater than those of his brother. He strove also for political reforms. We cannot, unfortunately, say that all the measures he proposed were calculated to promote the real welfare of the state or the poor.

Having been elected, in 123, Tribune of the Plebs, he had the so-called *Corn Law* passed, which ordered that the state was to sell grain to indigent citizens at half the market price. This law, which gained him the good will of the populace, at least for the time being, was a most vicious element in the legislation. It tended to rear a crowd of idlers, and to draw into the city characters who wished to shirk honest work. Its effect was bound to prove opposite to that of the law passed by Tiberius. Had Gaius lived long enough, he might have been able to undo much of the evil influence of this law.

His brother's land law worked too slowly for him. So he pro-

posed to *establish colonies* of Roman citizens both in Italy and in the provinces. Six thousand colonists went to Carthage to rebuild that city. Other such foundations were projected. Had this policy continued, it would have been the greatest blessing both for Italy and for the provinces.

To weaken the power of the Senate he put all the courts of justice into the hands of the knights. This certainly was not for the benefit of the provinces, because the tax farmers, the worst offenders, were now to be tried by their own comrades for the crime of extortion. For the time being, however, the money power went over to the side of Gaius Gracchus.

270. Gaius Gracchus' Second Tribunate. — He was elected again, for the following year (immediate reëlection had been made lawful). A number of laws passed in his favor placed extensive power in his hands and imposed on him a great variety of duties. It was surprising how many important affairs he could attend to personally without losing sight of his further projects. He was now at the height of his influence. The laws he planned were excellent. They brought on his ruin through the selfishness and shortsightedness of his friends.

His next step was an attempt to give full citizenship to the Latins, and the Latin rights to the allies of Italy. (See § 217.) This met with strong opposition from his allies, the city mob, who did not want to see the privileges of the citizen rights cheapened. His plans for still more colonies estranged from him the knights, who did not like to see such commercial rivals as Carthage and Corinth reëstablished. The Senate induced another tribune, Drusus, to propose twelve Italian colonies at a time, though it was impossible to find so much public land in Italy. This turned the thoughtless mob completely away from Gaius. When he stood for a third election, he was defeated. He was now a private man, no longer protected by the sanctity of the tribuneship.

271. Murder of Gaius Gracchus. — A law canceling the colony of Carthage was to be proposed in the Assembly. A large

number of farmers from the surrounding country flocked to Rome. Having received warning that they might be attacked, many came armed. The Senate, which had long been preparing for the use of force, interpreted this as an attack upon the state. The consul, a personal enemy of Gaius Gracchus, was given dictatorial power, and marched with a regular force to put down what was called a rising. Gracchus himself was slain. Three thousand of his adherents were afterward strangled in prison.

272. End of the Reforms. — The Senate was in power again. In quick succession most of the reforms of the brothers were undone. The little farms were freed from rent, declared to be salable, and soon absorbed by the neighboring latifundia. All the laws ordering the foundation of colonies became a dead letter. The further distribution of public land was forbidden, which amounted to a gigantic donation of state property to the rich. But the Senate did not have the courage to abolish the disastrous corn law of Gaius. The knights, too, retained the right of forming the courts of justice.

MARIUS AND SULLA (108–78 B.C.)

Prominent men appear more and more as the prime movers in the shaping of Roman history. The various classes as such had shown themselves unfit for leadership. A mob by its very nature needs some personage that it can look to for guidance in political action. The Senate as a party had become utterly selfish and unprincipled. So the time of one-man power was approaching. The leaders of the contending parties will grapple with each other for supremacy. The first contestants are Marius and Sulla — Marius a lowborn plebeian, Sulla the scion of an ancient patrician family.

273. MARIUS was the son of a day laborer. He advanced in the army from the lowest ranks by reason of his eminent ability and probity. By marriage he acquired some property. This enabled him to run for and obtain the praetorship which he administered in a fair and unselfish manner. He rose to the highest pitch of glory through *two important wars.*

274. The war with Jugurtha, a Numidian king, who had dislodged several rulers that were under Roman protection, and had killed thousands of Italians in his realm, revealed the abyss of corruptibility existing in the senatorial order. For a number of years in succession the insolent African bought ambassadors and consuls with his gold. In 105 B.C. Marius was elected consul and was sent as commander-in-chief to Africa. By skill and good fortune, and by a daring exploit of his Lieutenant Sulla, Marius was enabled to make good his promise that he would bring Jugurtha to Rome in chains. Jugurtha was dragged through the streets in the conqueror's triumph, and died in a loathsome prison.

275. The War with the Cimbri and Teutones. — While the war in Africa was going on a storm had broken upon the northern frontier. The *Cimbri* and *Teutones,* German tribes with some Celtic clans, had been in motion since 113. They seem to have come from the coasts of the Baltic. For several years they marched about the northern boundaries of Italy, where they defeated four large Roman armies. Italy and Rome were in a terror. The conqueror of Jugurtha was immediately reëlected and sent as general against the new enemy. Marius went about his task very cautiously. He first accustomed his intimidated soldiers to the sight of the huge barbarians. When the right moment came, he defeated and annihilated the Teutones in southern Gaul at *Aquae Sextiae* (Aix). In the following year he dealt a similar blow to the Cimbri, who had crossed the Alps into Italy, at *Vercellae.* Marius was hailed as the deliverer of the country. A second time this lowborn son of the people rode in a magnificent triumph through the streets of Rome.[1]

[1] As the terms *German* and *Teutones* occur here for the first time in Roman history, the student should know clearly what they denote. The Teutones (note Latin form) belonged to a race of people with whom the Romans more and more came into hostile contact. Other tribes of this race were the Suevi, the Alemanni, Goths, Franks, Vandals, Lombards, Burgundians, etc. The Romans designated all these people by the generic term, *Germani,* "Germans." With us the name Germans is preferably used in a restricted sense,

276. Marius was no statesman. After these wars he was the mightiest man in Rome. The popular party felt elated and would have done anything for him. He could have taken up the reforms of the Gracchus brothers. But he evidently was at sea in the world of internal politics. While party strife ran high — several political murders and acts of street violence occurred — Marius kept aloof. Some leaders of the popular party came forward with proposals so radical that even many of their own men turned away from them. A riot followed, and Marius himself helped to quell it. This was the end of his influence. His party did not trust him any more, and now the aristocrats had no reason to fear him.

277. THE RISE OF SULLA began with the **Social War.** There had grown up among the aristocrats themselves a small liberal party, which meant to do justice to the people. The tribune Drusus, son of the Drusus who had opposed Gaius Gracchus, proposed to extend citizenship to the Italians. These had put their hope on him. When he was assassinated, they lost patience. They established a state of their own with consuls, senate, praetors, and other officials. Rome made Sulla general in the war that ensued, the war of the *socii* (allies). The two parties were nearly evenly matched. In spite of the successes won by Sulla's generalship, the Senate found it advisable to *grant citizenship to all Italians as far north as the Po River.*

278. The First Civil War of Sulla. — The Senate wanted to enroll the new citizens in such a way that they would have no

being applied to the inhabitants of Germany (and some countries near Germany, such as Austria). Historians, however, still frequently use it in the wider sense of the old Roman *Germani*. This book, too, occasionally uses it in this meaning. But it prefers the term *Teutons*, or *Teutonic*, or *Germanic*, when speaking of peoples like those mentioned. While therefore the old Latin word *Teutones* refers to one tribe, the English words Teuton and Teutonic designate all the tribes thought to be of the same race, and therefore akin, to the ancient *Teutones*. Moreover, these *Teutones* probably came from some place in what is now Germany. But the many other tribes that will be mentioned were scattered over the wide territory north of the Danube, and between the Rhine and the Caspian Sea.

political influence in the Assembly of the Tribes, a step which the people opposed furiously. In fact, a law was proposed to provide for another enrollment. To prevent it, Sulla provoked a riot, in which only the intervention of Marius saved his life. The law was passed. But while these troubles were going on, *the Senate had appointed Sulla commander-in-chief for a war against Mithridates the Great, King of Pontus in Asia Minor.* The people replied by appointing Marius to the same command.

Sulla went to his army and led it against Rome — the first instance of a regular army being used to reduce the capital. He scattered the adherents of Marius, who himself escaped, and had a number of democratic leaders executed. He then set out for the East. When the democrats rallied again, the aristocrats surrounded them and cut down ten thousand men. Then Marius and his friend Cinna returned at the head of hordes of escaped slaves and other ruffians, who for four days carried on a fearful slaughter of the members of the senatorial party. These two, then, declared themselves consuls without the formality of election. Marius died very soon, and Cinna remained the master of Rome for four years.

279. Sulla's War with Mithridates. — Since the Roman war with Syria (§ 250), that country was in a state of decay. Out of its ruins grew several independent states, the most powerful of which was that of Pontus under Mithridates. Mithridates now posed as champion of Asia against Rome. He suddenly seized the province of Asia, where he was hailed as deliverer from the tax hyenas. Eighty thousand Italians were massacred. In a vigorous campaign of several years, not without difficulty, Sulla restored Roman dominion throughout Asia Minor and returned to Rome.

280. Sulla's Second Civil War. — Cinna, who tried to keep Sulla out of Italy, was killed by his own soldiers. Though Sulla promised to recognize the enrollment of the Italian citizens, a large force, chiefly Samnites, marched against him. He defeated them at the very gates of Rome, and slew the greater part of them.

Then he began his bloody revenge. In killing, Sulla was more systematic than Marius. Three thousand Samnite prisoners were butchered in cold blood. Every morning the people would find posted up in the market place lists of men doomed to death, with prices on their heads. Thus the rabble was invited to assist in the work of butchery and plunder. Private enemies of Sulla's friends and their henchmen were included, though politically harmless. The property of these *proscribed* persons was sold at auction, and bid for only by Sulla's men, who thus had a chance to enrich themselves enormously. Nearly five thousand wealthy Romans perished. In the Italian cities the slaughter was even worse; 12,000 were put to death in the little town of Praeneste.

281. Sulla's "Reforms." — Sulla saw no other remedy for the ills of Rome but the omnipotence of the Senate, and he knew of no other means to bring it about than the brute force of the soldier. He was blind to the complete incapacity of that body to rule. He made all offices dependent on the Senate. The tribunes in particular lost practically all the power they possessed. After a three years' absolutism he retired into private life, congratulating himself that he had saved the state from destruction. He wanted to be known as "Sulla the Fortunate." Probably the only really good measure which survived this period of violence and bloodshed was the enfranchisement of the Italians. Sulla had fought in arms against this act of justice, though when in power he allowed it to stand.

POMPEY AND CAESAR

Just as the period of Marius and Sulla had been a time of internal troubles and foreign wars, so this period of Pompey and Caesar will have two phases. First, for Rome and Italy it will mean the question who shall become supreme master. Second, there will be a gigantic extension and strengthening of the Roman dominions.

POMPEY

282. Pompey and Crassus had been prominent as officers of Sulla. Crassus was a good soldier but a better business man.

He had accumulated a colossal fortune by the purchase of property of the proscribed (§ 280). Pompey, too, possessed military ability, but was more cautious, exceptionally vain, and without any broad views in politics. His connection with the now powerful senatorial party assisted him to rise to unusual importance.

283. Pompey's War with Sertorius. — Sertorius, a noble-hearted, refined, and broad-minded champion of the popular party, a character born to rule, had escaped to Spain during Sulla's persecution and had not been disturbed so far. He gave to the Spanish provinces an admirable government, and introduced there the best elements of Roman civilization. The population was enthusiastically devoted to him. Upon Sulla's death, Pompey succeeded in being appointed general against Sertorius. For several years he made little headway. Then Sertorius was assassinated by a rival who soon succumbed to the attacks of Pompey. Meanwhile there had been a formidable *uprising of the slaves in Italy*, which involved the whole peninsula. This revolt was crushed in the blood of thousands by Crassus. The two victorious generals now united, forced the Senate to grant them a triumph, and had themselves elected consuls. To gain the good will of the popular party they undid the chief work of their master Sulla by restoring the tribunes and some other officers to their former power (§ 281).

284. Pompey's War against the Pirates. — Since the Second Punic War the Romans had neglected their navy, and one of the common measures taken after a victory was the suppression of the navy of the conquered state. In consequence, piracy had grown at a terrific pace. The pirates formed regular organizations. They had taken possession of maritime cities and made them their headquarters. They concluded treaties with republics and kings. The destruction of cities in the Roman wars drove not only the rabble, but prominent men as well into their ranks. They now paralyzed the trade of the whole Mediterranean. They appeared before the Tiber and carried off the ships that brought grain to the capital.

Again Pompey was called upon. He received ample means and power for three years to put down these plunderers. He acted with great circumspection and energy. Within forty days he had cleaned out the western part of the Mediterranean, and within forty-nine the eastern part. Instead of killing his twenty thousand prisoners, he settled them in various colonies, chiefly in Asia, to give them a new chance in life.

285. Pompey's Activity in the East. — Mithridates had never considered the peace he concluded with Sulla as more than a truce. He was again seriously threatening Rome's power, and his alliances made him a most dangerous enemy. As Pompey was already in the East, the people extended his command indefinitely, so that he might set things right. His good luck more than his ability enabled him not only to regain all that was lost but to conquer vast territories, part of which he made into provinces, while the kings of other parts became Rome's vassals. Among the latter was the little kingdom of the Jews.

286. The Jews had come under the power of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, but their country had been conquered by the Seleucid kings of Syria. The Syrian kings tried by means of a fierce persecution to make them give up their religion and adore the Greek and Oriental gods. This drove them into a rebellion, in which they performed the most heroic deeds under their leaders, the *Maccabees*, and asserted their independence, partly with Roman assistance. While Pompey was in the East, a quarrel between two royal claimants of the throne caused one party to invoke the aid of Rome. Pompey came to Jerusalem, took the city by storm, and subjected the land to Rome, giving the crown to one of the pretenders. A little later the foreigner *Herod* replaced the Maccabees.

287. Pompey after the Wars. — When Pompey returned to Rome, he celebrated a magnificent triumph. Three hundred and twenty-four princely persons walked captive behind his chariot, and banners proclaimed that he had conquered twenty-one kings and twelve millions of people and doubled the revenue of the state. But when the triumph was over and his army dismissed, the jealous Senate took no further notice of him. It even delayed to

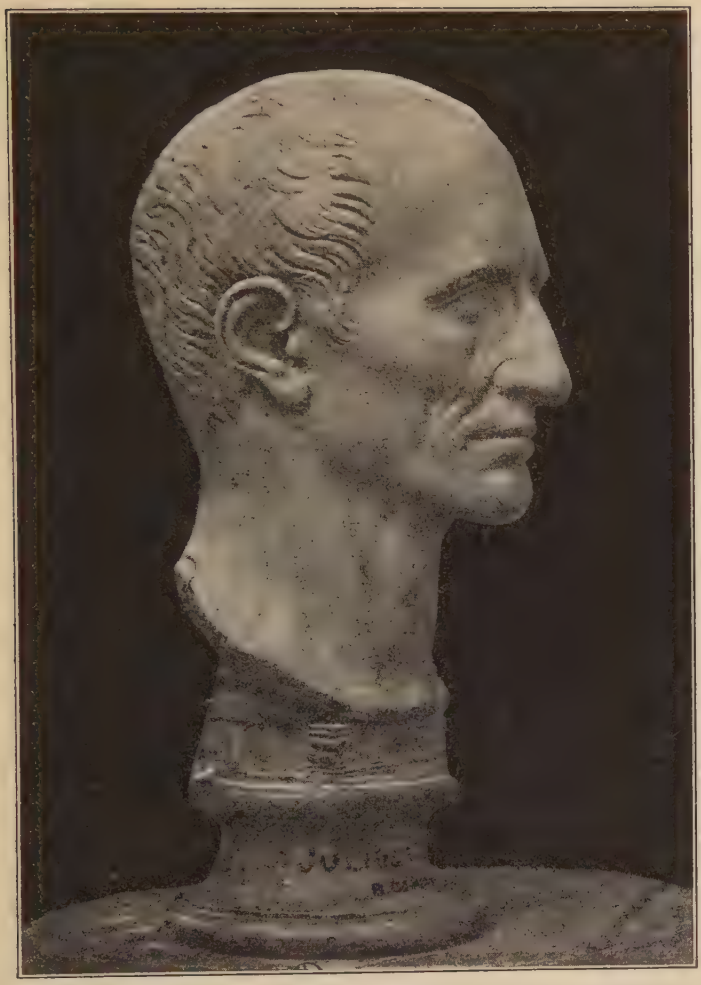
sanction his arrangements in Asia, which were so highly honorable to the Roman name. For two years Pompey fretted in vain.

CAESAR AND POMPEY IN HARMONY

288. Julius Caesar was of an old patrician family. Under Sulla he barely escaped proscription (§ 277), because he had married a daughter of Cinna and refused to put her away. During Pompey's absence he had served as quaestor and praetor. It pleased the people exceedingly that he dared to speak in praise of Marius and Cinna, and put up again the trophies of Marius on the Capitol, which had been removed during the rule of Sulla. The people looked upon him as their champion. It was evidently his intention to rise into power by support of the lower classes. For some time, however, he was forced to abstain from pursuing his aims in public.

289. Conspiracy of Catiline. — Catiline, one of the most wicked men in that wicked age, belonged to the numerous class of nobles and knights who by their riotous living had squandered their fortunes and were deep in debt. To fill their pockets again they planned an insurrection under Catiline's leadership. They wanted to seize the supreme power and to begin a wholesale robbery of all the rich. This conspiracy was, almost in the last moment, detected and crushed by Cicero, the great Roman orator, who was consul in that year (63 B.C.). It was not a democratic movement, though some of the democratic leaders, including Caesar, were strongly suspected of being in the ring. At the same time, too, Pompey returned from the East and was the only great man in the city. Caesar was glad to obtain the governorship of a province in Spain, and thus to withdraw out of sight. This gave him a welcome chance, too, to retrieve his dilapidated fortune (in the usual way) and also to gain considerable military experience.

290. The "First Triumvirate." — When Caesar returned from Spain, he found Pompey still chafing under the haughty neglect of the Senate. Here was his chance. *In 60 B.C. he formed an*



JULIUS CAESAR
The British Museum bust.

alliance with Pompey and Crassus. The three were to possess the supreme power in the state, either by holding offices or by means of bribes or force. Caesar furnished the brains, Pompey the renown, and Crassus the money. This agreement, which was entirely private, is called the *First Triumvirate* (from *tres*, three, and *vir*, man). The next year Caesar became consul. Within a short time Pompey saw his arrangements in the East sanctioned. Laws were passed in the spirit of Tiberius Gracchus, though with wise modifications. The remnants of Sulla's enactments were done away with.

291. Caesar in Gaul, 58–51 B.C. — At the end of his consulship Caesar had conferred on him the governorship of Illyricum, Cisalpine Gaul, and that part of Transalpine Gaul (§ 239) which had been formed into a province some fifty years before. This latter was the southeastern corner of Gaul. Caesar wished to get these provinces, because they would give him a chance to gain military renown, and to build up an army devoted to him personally.

The Transalpine Gauls, a Celtic nation (§ 192 *d*), inhabited the land from the Rhine to the Pyrenees. They were brave, patriotic, liberty-loving, and not without civilization. They were divided into a number of independent tribes. Caesar would have been no match for them, had they acted in harmony against him. But their feuds enabled him to play one tribe against another. In the seventh year of warfare they combined for the first and last time for a united effort. When this failed, all Gaul was a Roman land. Caesar had carried the Roman eagles as far as the Atlantic, he had even crossed the Rhine and the Channel, and had added a vast territory to the dominions of Rome. Italian colonists and a brisk intercourse with Roman lands helped to Romanize Gaul more and more.

While busy conquering the Gauls, Caesar also drove a German invader, Ariovistus, King of the Suevi, back across the Rhine, and thus prevented the return of a danger similar to that of the Cimbri and Teutones (§ 275).

WAR BETWEEN CAESAR AND POMPEY

292. Breaking Up of the Triumvirate. — As Caesar received the governorship over several provinces, so Pompey, besides other privileges, was given the provinces of Spain and Africa. He remained in Rome, however, and administered his provinces by deputies. Crassus preferred the rich province of Syria, where he soon perished in a war with the fierce Parthians (*H. T. F.*, "Persias"). His death tended to loosen the bonds between the other

The Roman Forum To-day, Looking North

two confederates. Pompey drew nearer to the senatorial party, and, through fear of Caesar, was adopted by it as champion. The question was now which of the two would become the sole ruler of Rome.

Caesar, still governor of his several provinces, wanted to stand for consul. The law required that he disband his army and present himself personally at Rome as a private citizen. He knew that this meant his death by assassination. Pompey

meanwhile, besides being governor of Africa and Spain, had been made consul and thus was allowed to have an army in Italy. Caesar offered to lay down his command, if Pompey would do the same. This was refused, and he was even ordered to disband his forces before a certain day or be declared an enemy to the state. This unjustifiable command was a declaration of civil war.

293. Civil War between Caesar and Pompey. — Caesar stood with his army in Cisalpine Gaul, when the fatal decree was reported to him. The narrow river *Rubicon* separated his province from Italy. *In 49 B.C. he crossed the Rubicon,* marched past Rome to southern Italy, but arrived too late to prevent Pompey's flight across the Adriatic to Dyrrhachium. With Pompey all the senatorial party had fled. Caesar came to Rome, broke open the treasury, in which he found an enormous amount of money, and set out for Spain, where he defeated the legates (deputies) of Pompey. His own legates meanwhile took possession of Sicily and Sardinia. In Rome he had himself elected consul and dictator, and followed Pompey to the other side of the Adriatic.

294. The Battle of Pharsalus, 48 B.C. — Here Caesar found himself in a bad position. His army was only half of the forces Pompey had gathered, and it was very ill provisioned. Pompey's army, however, consisted largely of undrilled men, and was officered by young aristocrats, who looked upon the war as a parade. Pompey risked the battle at *Pharsalus* in Thessaly, and was completely defeated by Caesar's superior generalship. Pompey himself fled to the coast even before the battle was completely finished. His army was annihilated. The kings, kinglets, and cities of the East that had supported him at once made their peace with the new master of the world. Pompey, almost alone, fled to Egypt, where he was treacherously killed as soon as he set foot on the land.

295. Further Campaigns. — Caesar himself went to Egypt, where he wasted some months under the influence of the wily queen, *Cleopatra,* to whom he assigned the throne in a dispute

with her brother. On his way back to Italy he went to Asia Minor, where the aggressions of Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, made armed interference necessary. His victory was so speedy that he announced it to his friends in Rome by the words, "I came, I saw, I conquered." In two more decisive campaigns he crushed the remnants of Pompey's party that had escaped to Africa and Spain. To show to the populace the greatness of his achievements, he celebrated five gorgeous triumphs. Since his victorious return from the East, in 47 B.C., he was the sole ruler of the empire. Rome had ceased to be a republic. It was a monarchy.

PART FIVE: ROME AS A MONARCHY

Caesar was the master of Rome. No king ever exerted more power over his realm than the conqueror of Pharsalus did over the city on the Tiber and throughout the vast extent of its empire. He was the first of a long line of absolute rulers. The general character of the period which now begins is the cessation of conquests and the working out of an admirable system of internal administration. The inhabitants of the provinces, so far oppressed and exploited by officials and tax farmers, became the special object of the new government's care. The grand PAX ROMANA, "the Roman Peace," settled upon the lands of the Mediterranean and remained undisturbed for centuries.

CHAPTER XXIII

FIRM ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MONARCHY

CAESAR'S RULE

296. Conciliation. — Among Caesar's followers there were not wanting those who had expected that something like the massacres of Marius or the proscriptions of Sulla (§§ 278, 280) would give them a chance to enrich themselves at the expense of the aristocrats. There was no such thing. Caesar accepted for office any Roman of ability, and made no distinction between his friends and former foes. He gave to the city and the empire a rule of strict law and order. With the exception of some extremists all really became reconciled to his government.

297. The new monarchy retained the republican forms. Caesar simply united in his own person the various offices, into which the once royal power had been divided. He had conferred on himself for life the *tribunician power*, by which he

could veto laws or decrees of the Senate and annul verdicts of the courts, if he saw fit; the power of *censor*, by which he could degrade and appoint senators and knights, and could transfer citizens from tribe to tribe. He had himself declared *dictator*, so that under this republican title he could control the state in every regard. He received the title *imperator*, a designation before this given to victorious generals. In later times *imperator* became the special title of the new rulers. From this word we derive our word "emperor."

298. CAESAR'S REFORM MEASURES are in reality his greatest deeds. Here he showed his excellent statesmanship. Our admiration rises if we remember that he had only a few years to plan and introduce such a number of beneficial enactments.

A. Economic Reforms: (1) A bankrupt law released all debtors from further claims, if they relinquished all their property to their creditors.

(2) He began anew the distribution of public lands, somewhat according to the methods proposed by Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.

(3) Landlords were required to employ at least one free laborer for every two slaves.

(4) He resumed vigorously the establishment of colonies in the provinces.

By these various means he reduced the number of poor citizens who received free grain from 320,000 to 150,000.

B. Political Reforms: (1) He introduced rigid economy into all branches of the government.

(2) He equalized taxation in Italy and based it on a census of the people and their property. (He could not carry this out for the provinces.)

(3) The governors of the provinces became strictly responsible to the central authorities at Rome. He checked their power by the presence of other officials in the provinces who depended on Caesar himself. The governors thus were forced to

look after the welfare of the provinces instead of plundering them.

(4) He gave the rights of citizenship to many cities and districts in the provinces.

(5) He reformed and standardized the coinage of money.

(6) He introduced the *Julian Calendar*, which, with a slight change made in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII, is still in use. It provides for common years of 365 days, every fourth year to be a leap year of 366 days. (*H. T. F.*, "Calendar.")

299. Further Works and Plans. — Caesar besides showed an incredible activity in erecting buildings, chiefly of a practical character, in Rome, and all over the empire. His mind was busy with such great projects as that of putting the provinces upon the same level with Italy. His idea was that the government existed for the benefit of all the governed; that the provinces did not exist merely to be plundered by the Roman politicians, but had a claim to care and protection. He had already admitted provincials, even Gauls, to the Senate, which he wished to make a grand state council representative of all the parts of the empire, though he reserved all real power to himself. Nothing greater could have happened to the Roman state than that this wonderful legislative activity should go on undisturbed and uninterrupted. But this was not to be.

300. Caesar's Death. — There had remained an insignificant number of incorrigible republicans, and an equally small number of disappointed democrats and anarchists. These men combined for Caesar's destruction. They could not fight him openly in politics. But they could use the assassin's knife. This they did. On the Ides of March (March 15), 44 B.C., they crowded around him in the Senate house and attacked him with their daggers. Bleeding from three and twenty wounds he sank dead at the foot of the statue of Pompey.

301. Caesar's Character. — Personally Caesar was a most amiable character. His enemies dreaded his personal interviews, lest they might be won over to his side by his gracious

courtesy and unrivaled charms. Before he crossed the Rubicon he had used the same cold-blooded means as other Romans to amass riches. His Gallic wars in particular are strongly tinged with barbaric cruelty. But all this changed later on.

The statesman in him appeared more and more. He felt the strong and able man's delight in ruling well. Let the student compare his laws with the activity of the prominent men before him. He is their equal in all things that are really good. He towers high above such brutal reactionaries as Sulla. The daggers of his cowardly assassins cut short a life most useful to the Roman world and indirectly to all mankind. The lines marked out by him were later on followed by some of his successors though less grandly, less boldly, and less consistently.

A REPUBLICAN INTERRUPTION

302. Cassius and Brutus, the leaders of Caesar's murderers, imagined that the people would acclaim them as deliverers. But to their dismay all classes shrank from them. At Caesar's funeral his lieutenant and friend, Mark Anthony (Marcus Antonius), roused the populace to fury against the assassins. The conspirators fled to the East, where Caesar had given governorships to some of them, and where the fame of Pompey was still a strength to the aristocrats.

303. THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE. — Anthony remained for a time the ruler of Rome. But soon he found himself successfully rivaled by a young boy of eighteen, a grandnephew and adopted son of Caesar. Hostilities between the two were prevented by the proposal of the young Octavius to form an alliance, into which they admitted also Lepidus, governor of Gaul and Spain. This alliance is called the *Second Triumvirate,* which, however, was officially recognized by the Senate. It gave to the three participants the power of dictators. To get money for further enterprises and to destroy their opponents, they resorted to the method of Sulla (§ 280) by inaugurating a horrible *proscription.* It is to the shame of the triumvirs that more than

three thousand prominent men were killed and their property confiscated. Among the victims was the great orator, Cicero, the same who had once saved the city from the nefarious schemes of Catiline (§ 289).

304. Defeat of the "Republicans." — Meantime Cassius and Brutus had gathered an army in the East from the friends of Pompey. Octavius and Anthony marched out against them and met their medley troops near *Philippi* in Macedonia in 42 B.C. The two armies again represented the East and the West, and the West was victorious. No serious attempt was ever made again to restore the Roman republic.

305. Octavius Becomes Sole Ruler. — Anthony and Octavius set aside Lepidus, who had never been of much account, and divided the empire between themselves. Octavius received the West, Anthony the East. Anthony soon became so infatuated with Cleopatra at Alexandria (§ 295), that he gave away Roman provinces to her and her children; repudiated his wife, Octavia, the virtuous sister of Octavius; married the Egyptian queen; and while leading a luxurious life in Egypt, utterly neglected the interests of the empire. At last the Senate declared war. In 31 B.C. the decisive battle took place at *Actium*, off the coast of Greece. Anthony and Cleopatra were completely defeated and fled back to Egypt, where both died by suicide. It was again a victory for the West. Octavius was the sole master of the Roman world. He set things right in the Orient, annexed Egypt fully to the empire, and returned to Rome in triumph. He solemnly closed the gates of the temple of Janus (§ 196) in token that the world was at peace.

THE RULE OF AUGUSTUS

306. Octavius Augustus possessed a shrewd, calculating mind. He probably did not have the originality of ideas that Caesar had, but he had learned from him. Like Caesar he forgave his enemies and received them to favor and service if they were willing. Like Caesar, too, he ruled under the disguise of republi-

AUGUSTUS

The Vatican statue.

can forms, and was more anxious than Caesar to avoid anything of the pomp of royalty. The bodyguard which he formed of picked troops, the "praetorians," was only in small part stationed in Rome. He lived more simply than many a noble. The Senate, however, gave him the title **Augustus,** Venerable, which before had been used only of the gods. It is by this name that he is chiefly known in history. The title he liked best was that of *princeps*, which was popularly conferred on him, and which signifies "the first citizen" of the republic. Meanwhile the elections, passage of laws, decisions of the Senate, went on as before, though through disguised channels everything was controlled by the *Imperator Augustus*.

307. The Augustan Age. — Augustus ruled a long time, from 41 B.C. to 14 A.D. This time was a period of peace, with very few exceptions. Augustus was not bent on conquests. The Roman world was large enough for him. He gave his whole attention to internal administration. For the city he organized, or reorganized, a police department, a fire department, a department for the distribution of grain, each under its proper head. He pushed with great vigor the founding of colonies in the provinces, and thereby greatly increased the number of citizens. Everywhere in the vast Roman domain there *reigned peace and security*. Marshes were drained, roads built. A census of the whole empire was taken. To expedite the government business, a postal service for official communications was established. Latin literature developed to a wonderful perfection. Almost endless is the catalogue of the public buildings which were erected at Rome and in the provinces. Of Rome he said proudly, "I found it brick, and I have left it marble." (See § 340.)

308. The Worship of the Dead Augustus. — After his death in 14 A.D. the Senate decreed him divine honors. Temples were erected to him, and a special priesthood established. This practice was adopted for the successors of Augustus also. The worship of the dead emperors became the most widespread religious rite in the Roman world.

CHAPTER XXIV

JESUS CHRIST AND HIS WORK

Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of the world, was born during the reign of Augustus and closed His life work under Tiberius. It seems more practical to treat of both His coming and His work in this place.

JESUS CHRIST

309. The Birth of Jesus Christ. — The downfall of the national kingdom under the Maccabees (§ 286) had been hastened by the domestic strife between the Pharisees and Sadducees, the religious leaders of the people. At times neither party shrank from violence and fraud to obtain its end. The mass of the nation, however, though finally led into destruction by these blind guides, meant to be faithful to the law of Moses. The regulations concerning abstinence were observed generally, and the whole male population made the prescribed yearly pilgrimages to the temple of Jerusalem to worship the One True God " Who made heaven and earth." They also persevered in waiting for " Him Who was to come," the " Anointed of the Lord," the " Son of David," though their very idea of the promised Redeemer had become much obscured and on the whole more worldly than the words of Holy Scripture would allow. The belief that a world power would take its rise from among the Jews had even spread over wide countries in Asia.

Finally, " the fullness of time " arrived, the moment when the Almighty was to make good His promise solemnly given to Adam and repeated to the patriarchs and prophets of Israel.

" In the forty-second year of Octavian Augustus, when the whole world was at peace, JESUS CHRIST, eternal God and Son of the eternal Father, desirous to sanctify the world by His most merciful coming, was born in Bethlehem of Juda, having become man, of Mary the Virgin." — *Entry of the birth of Our Savior in the Roman Martyrology.*

310. The Death of Jesus Christ. — During His public teaching Jesus Christ proved Himself by words and miracles to be indeed the Messiah foretold by the prophets, the Son of God. But then, Pharisees and Sadducees combined against Him and He was crucified under the Roman governor Pontius Pilate, having been delivered up by His own people. After His death and resurrection, the organization founded by Him, His Church, began to spread over the whole world.

Jesus Christ's death on the cross was the redemption of the world. The promise of this event consoled the first parents when, after their fall, they were exiled from paradise (§ 1). This event was foretold to the patriarchs and prophets, and foreshadowed for more than a thousand years in the sacrificial rites of the divine service held in the grandest temple of the world. This sacrifice of the God-Man on the cross is the central fact of human history.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST

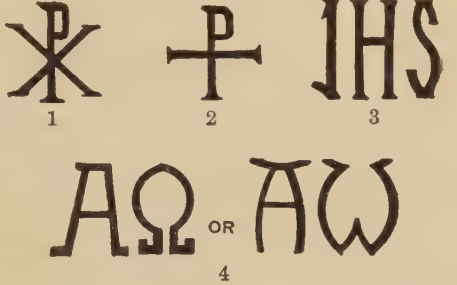
311. The doctrine of Christ was partly as old as the human heart. Partly it represented new gifts of knowledge from the fountainhead of divine truth. Christ restored the worship of the One True God "Who made heaven and earth." His teaching wrought a complete revolution in the position of the poor, the slave, the child, and the woman. The family not only became again what the Creator of mankind wanted it to be when He instituted it in the beginning, but essentially more. Matrimony being made a sacrament, the family, too, was raised to the sphere of the supernatural. The seven sacraments, a system so sublime that only a divine intellect could devise it, affect and sanctify the entire human life with their silent influence. The crowning point of Christ's teaching is the *law of charity*, "the bond of perfection." Charity sees in every man a brother redeemed by the blood of Christ and makes the practice of kindness a duty and even the characteristic feature of the new religion.

This religion, at the same time, *satisfies the general craving of man for something like God's presence*, and the desire to approach

His infinite Majesty with worthy sacrifices of adoration and petition. In the Holy Eucharist we possess " the tabernacle of God among men " and are enabled to glorify Him by the sacrifice of the Mass, the ever repeated sacrifice of the Cross: " In every place there is sacrifice and there is offered to My name a clean oblation." (Mal. I, 10, 11.)

Christianity solves the problem of suffering. Adversities and tribulations are only the means to obtain a more blissful future; even death loses its terror by the certainty of eternal life and a glorious resurrection.

Finally, all the abstract as well as all the practical truths are brought nearer to our human feelings and sympathies by the reality of the life among us, in a servant's garb, of the God-Man, Jesus of Nazareth, Who became like ourselves in all things, sin excepted.



ANCIENT MONOGRAMS OF JESUS CHRIST

No. 1 consists of the first two Greek letters of the word *Christ;* *X* in Greek is our *Ch*, and *P* is a Greek *R*. Constantine placed this symbol upon the *labarum*, the standard of his army (see § 370). In No. 2 the lines of *X* have been turned so as to form a standing cross, and one of them becomes identical with the vertical stroke of the *P*. The center letter of No. 3 is a Greek *E*, so that there are here the first three letters of the name of Jesus. (The *S* is Latin; the Greek *S* is somewhat different.) In later centuries the devotion of the several Christian nations has put its own interpretation upon these three letters. No. 4 shows the first and the last letter of the Greek alphabet, "alpha" and "omega." It was suggested by the text, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end." (Apoc. I, 8.)

312. The Christian Organization. — It is an essential tenet of Christ's doctrine that those who wish to receive the benefits resulting from His teachings must belong to a visible society, in which there is a well-defined difference between the governing and the governed. This society He called His Church. Christ's

apostles were commissioned to "preach to all nations, baptize them, and teach them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." It is evident that this arrangement was to last as long as men would be born with the consequences of the sin of Adam. Whatever offices Christ instituted for the purpose of the salvation of mankind were to exist as long as the world stands.

Paramount among these offices is the position which was first intrusted to *St. Peter*. He was to be the rock upon which the Church is built. St. Peter accordingly holds the place of eminence in the records of the young Church. (*H. T. F.*, "Peter, Saint.")

When St. John, the last of the apostles, died in the year 100 A.D., there was in every greater community one *bishop* with full jurisdiction and responsibility, but assisted by priests and deacons and sometimes by other bishops. A measure of later times was the erection of *archbishoprics* and ecclesiastical provinces, and of the *patriarchal office* between the archbishops and the head of the Church.

The Church thus founded by Jesus Christ began to spread victoriously in the Roman Empire in the face of the greatest odds. We shall have to devote a special section to its extension. Almost unending difficulties will prevent it for three hundred years from displaying all of its supernatural force for the welfare of mankind. But after three centuries it will come into the open, and exert its wholesome influence upon all conditions and forms of human life. It will then be the chief element in the birth of a new and different age.

CHAPTER XXV

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PEACE — 31 B.C. TO 180 A.D.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF THIS PERIOD

313. With the age of Augustus the history of Rome changes into the history of the Empire at large. It is no longer centered so exclusively in the city of Rome. The time is at hand when by following up the principles of Caesar and Augustus the right of citizenship will be extended to all the inhabitants of the Roman lands. Rome is still the capital, the seat of the central government. But the eyes of that government are now directed to the welfare of the whole, instead of to the enrichment of a limited number of Roman grandees. Never before, and never after, did a territory so vast as the Roman Empire enjoy so long a period of peace. The task of the government was to guard the frontiers and to promote security in the interior. On the whole this task was well performed.

Practically all the emperors of the two centuries were good rulers. The few who were not did not live long enough to do much harm. Their vices made them hated at Rome. But the administration of the provinces went on along the channels established before. Even the fact that some of them persecuted Christianity must not interfere with our verdict that they gave in other regards a good government to the Empire.

314. The term "empire" has so far been used in this book of a dominion in which one land or country holds the place of a ruler, while the others are its subjects. In Roman history, too, so far, we have employed it in this sense. From now on it changes its meaning. It denotes a state all the parts of which are on an equal footing (though this was not the case right away in the Roman Empire), and which is ruled over by monarchs whom we style *emperors*. — The Roman emperors are often referred to as *Caesars*, because each of them adopted this title as part of his personal name. (*H. T. F.*, "Empire.")

THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS

Three groups of emperors ruled during this time: the Julian emperors, the Flavian emperors, the "five good emperors."

THE JULIAN EMPERORS

315. Augustus, the First of the Julian Emperors. — We must still report one interruption of the peace of his forty years' reign. He wished to reduce the Germans on the eastern bank of the Rhine to subjection. The attempt ended in disaster. In the battle of the Teutoburg Forest, 9 A.D., the Roman legions were entirely destroyed by the enraged Germans under the leadership of Arminius.

316. Tiberius (14–37), Augustus' adopted son, the next emperor, was loved and revered in the provinces for the indefatigable care with which he watched over their welfare, and the sternness with which he held every Roman official to his duty. On one occasion he rebuilt, at his own expense, twelve cities which had been destroyed by an earthquake. In Rome, he was looked upon as a gloomy tyrant. He had grown suspicious of his surroundings, and many guilty and innocent persons suffered cruel death on that account. *During his reign occurred the crucifixion of Our Lord.*

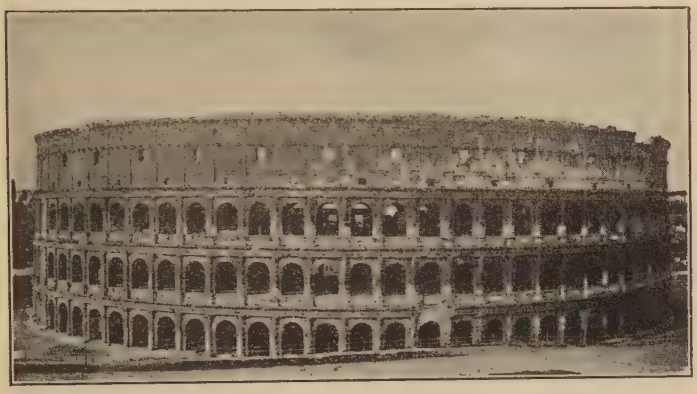
317. Caligula (37–41), Tiberius' adopted son, had been a promising youth. But crazed by power or some mysterious illness, he filled the four years of his reign with deeds of cruelty and madness. (He even wished to make his horse consul.) He died by the hands of assassins.

318. Claudius (41–54), a timid, gentle, awkward man, uncle of Caligula, was forced to assume the supreme power by the praetorians. His administration, to which he faithfully gave his time and efforts, was carried out chiefly by capable freedmen. *Under him the Roman conquest of southern Britain took place.*

319. Nero (54–68), allowed himself to be directed for several years by the great philosopher *Seneca* and other able men. Later on he entered upon a career of lust, cruelty, and vanity,

imagined himself to be a great poet, dancer, and even gladiator, and ended his life by suicide.

During his reign half of Rome was laid in ashes. For six days and nights the flames raged unchecked. Nero himself was suspected by many of having ordered the destruction, that he might build the city up in more magnificent fashion. The Christians were accused of having started the fire. To turn



EXTERIOR OF COLISEUM (FLAVIAN AMPHITHEATER)

The eighty openings in each story and the ornamental columns and friezes break the monotony, but do not destroy the general impression of the colossal. In later centuries this structure served as a stone quarry for the palaces of Roman nobles, and only its huge size prevented complete destruction. The picture shows the part that is preserved. Many Christians suffered a cruel death in this structure.

attention from himself, Nero began the *first persecution of the Christians.* Without trial, Christians, tarred with pitch, were burned as torches in the imperial gardens; others, clothed in skins of animals, were torn by dogs for the amusement of the mob.

THE FLAVIAN EMPERORS

320. Flavius Vespasianus was proclaimed by the legions in Syria in 70 A.D., after a year of wild confusion. He dislodged several rivals who had been put up by the troops in Spain, Rome,

and Gaul. He was of low parentage, but honest, industrious, experienced, and broad-minded. He gave to the Empire nine years of peace, during which many magnificent buildings were erected.

The most striking event in his reign was the **destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D.** The Jews had been under kings appointed

TRIUMPHAL ARCH OF TITUS

Erected chiefly to commemorate his victory over the Jews and his conquest of Jerusalem. The relief reproduced on page 241 can just be traced on the inside wall. We have notice of 21 triumphal arches. This is one of the five still existing.

by Rome or directly under Roman governors since 63 B.C. (§ 286). Jesus of Nazareth, whose followers were now establishing a spiritual kingdom, they had rejected. But they stuck blindly to the idea of a messiah who would free them from foreign domination. This idea, which became a mania with them, together with blunders made by the Roman governors, drove them into a desperate rebellion. Vespasian, still a general, was

ordered by Nero to suppress it. When proclaimed Emperor, he departed for Rome. His son Titus laid siege to Jerusalem. He met with a fierce resistance. Though a bloody war went on inside the city between two parties, and though hunger and disease raged fearfully, nobody thought of surrender. The city went up in flames. The miserable remnant of the population were sold into slavery. The Jews never again formed a state of their own.

Relief from Titus' Triumphal Arch

Note the seven-branched candlestick and other sacred articles taken from the temple of Jerusalem. (See illustration on page 240.)

321. Titus (79–81), won general admiration and affection by his kindness. He considered a day as lost on which he had not made anyone happy. In the first year of his reign *Mount Vesuvius,* which had been thought to be an extinct volcano, belched forth in a terrible eruption, destroying the countless villas and vineyards upon its slopes and burying under ashes the two cities of *Herculaneum* and *Pompeii.* After lying hidden under the new surface of the earth for seventeen hundred years, these cities were

discovered and are being more and more excavated, so that to-day the visitor can walk the very streets of a Roman city and view its houses, shops, theaters, and temples.

322. Domitian (81–96), the third of the Flavians, brother of Titus, was a stern ruler. A plot of the nobles against him was put down with cruelty. Under his rule the conquest of Britain

POMPEII: TEMPLE AND STREET OF FORTUNA

The high walls are the remains of the temple proper. Some of the steps leading up to it are still visible. It had a colonnade (§ 110) in front; fragments still mark the place of the columns. Before it appears the base of a statue. Note the heavy pavement of the streets, and the stepping stones leading from sidewalk to sidewalk.

as far as the highlands of the north was completed. He stained his government by a new persecution of the Christians. He was assassinated by members of his household.

THE FIVE GOOD EMPERORS (96-180 A.D.)

These rulers succeeded in giving to the country a remarkable period of prosperity. Three of them were born Spaniards, a fact which indicates that the equality between the Italians and the provincials had made rapid progress.

323. Nerva, an aged senator, used the sixteen months of his reign to undo the harm done by the cruelty of Domitian. To secure a good succession he adopted the able Spaniard Trajan as his son and co-emperor. The next three rulers of this group followed the same practice of adopting their future successors.

324. Trajan (98–117), is the last great Roman conqueror. He added to the Empire the province of Dacia, north of the lower

Detail from Trajan's Column

Trajan is sacrificing a bull at a wooden bridge built by his engineers over the Danube.

Danube, which was thoroughly Romanized by the immigration of numerous settlers. Hence it is that the present Rumanians speak a Latin language, and are to some extent descendants of Romans. In the East he conquered wide provinces beyond the Euphrates, which, however, were given up under his successor. Despite his wars he was an excellent administrator, a great builder of roads and public works. He took steps for the care of orphans, and made laws for the protection of the slaves.

There was, however, a slight persecution of the Christians under him.

325. Hadrian (117–136), continued Trajan's building activity on a larger scale, and made the central government more efficient. For the defense of Roman Britain he constructed the famous

TRAJAN'S COLUMN, ROME

It is about 120 feet high. Its surface is a spiral band of sculpture, which grows wider as it rises from the ground. It contains about 2500 human figures, commemorating Trajan's campaigns against the Dacians, and telling us much of the military methods of the Romans. Winding stairs in the interior lead up to the top, where now a statue of St. Peter replaces that of Trajan. The space around the column was formerly filled with debris as high as the column stumps, and formed an open place. The picture shows how a new Rome had arisen around and above the ruins of the old. The two churches belong to the Renaissance style (§ 682).

"Hadrian's Wall" on its northern boundary from coast to coast. The only great internal trouble of his reign came from the Jews, who made another desperate but futile effort to throw off the Roman yoke in 135 A.D.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE
At its Greatest Extent
With some Roman Roads
SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
SCALE OF ROMAN MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500
EXPLANATION
The Roman Empire at the Death of Caesar, 44 B.C.
Additions up to the Death of Augustus, 14 A.D.
Additions up to the Death of Trajan, 117 A.D.
Roman Roads
Longitude West
Longitude
East
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
HIBERNIA
BRITAIN
WALL OF HADRIAN
Eboracum
Londinium
Rhine R.
Colonia Agrippina (Cologne)
Elbe R.
Teutoberg Forest
Moguntiacum
Augusta Treverorum
Marcomanni
RAETIA
NORICUM
PANNONIA
Vindobona
Iazyges
CELTICA
Bituricea
Augustodunum
Lugdunum
GAUL
AQUITANIA
Aginnum
Tolosa
NARBONENSIS
Mediolanum (Milan)
Aquileia
Arelate
Massilia
Narbo
Pola
Ravenna
Iadera
Salona
ILLYRIA
DALMATIA
SPAIN
LUSITANIA
TARRACONENSIS
Tarraco
CORSICA
Fidenae
ROME
Ostia
Naples
Puteoli
Herculaneum
Capua
Pompeii
Dyrrhachium
BALEARES
SARDINIA
BOETICA
Gades
New Carthage
Utica
Carthage
NUMIDIA
MAURETANIA
AFRICA
SICILY
Syracuse
Phars
15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20
50 45 40 35 30 25

Volga R.
Sarmatians
CASPIAN SEA
ALBANIA
Chersonesus
BLACK SEA
COLCHIS
Sinope
Byzantium
Nicomedia
BITHYNIA
PONTUS
Halys R.
Nicaea
GALATIA
Artaxata
ARMENIA
Pergamos
ASIA
CAPPADOCIA
PARTHIAN KINGDOM
Ephesus
PISIDIA
LYCONIA
CILICIA
Edessa
Issus
Tigris R.
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates R.
Xanthus
LYCIA
RHODES
CYPRUS
Antiochia
Emesa
SYRIA
Palmyra
Ktesiphon
Seleucia
Babylon
BABYLONIA
SEA
Caesarea
JUDAEA
PALESTINE
Jerusalem
Alexandria
Petra
ARABIA
Memphis
Nile R.
RED SEA
Mecca
Greenwich

326. Antoninus Pius' reign was singularly peaceful. It had no great outstanding political events. "Happy the country whose annals are meager." Antoninus Pius was a pure and gentle spirit. He recognized merit everywhere; undertook great works for the embellishment of Rome; encouraged and supported educational efforts; and passed laws to prevent cruelty to slaves.

327. Marcus Aurelius closes the line of the "good emperors." He was a philosopher and student, and only his sense of duty made him an excellent ruler and even warrior. He had to draw the sword repeatedly for the defense of the Empire against the barbarians who tried to enter it across the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. An Asiatic plague, which swept over the Empire, caused a terrible loss of life. The populace attributed this to the existence of Christians in their midst, and thus a cruel persecution also marks the reign of the philosophic emperor.

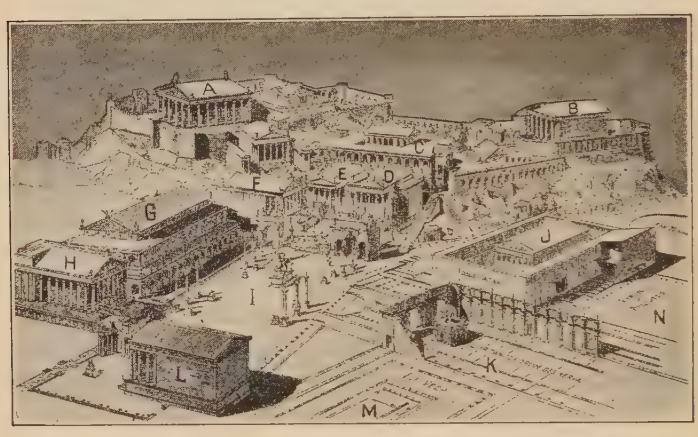
The son and successor of Marcus Aurelius, *Commodus* (180–192), was an infamous wretch, like Caligula, and was murdered by his officers.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY

328. The emperors possessed in reality an unlimited power, which was in name based upon their holding all the important republican offices (§ 297). The Senate, however, had meanwhile become what Caesar wished to make it, a body recruited from the best elements of all the parts of the Empire. It even now possessed no little influence, though the Emperor could always interfere with its actions or arrangements. A weak point in the system was *the lack of any regulation of the succession.* Most of the emperors of this period had taken care of the appointment of a successor in some way or other. But they had done so without establishing any definite principle. In later times this lack led to woeful consequences, especially by the interference of military forces.

329. Municipal government, on the whole, remained as it had been under the Republic. The difference between colonies and

municipia (§ 216) had disappeared long ago. All the thousands of cities of the Empire elected their own local officers, whose titles and functions in Latin countries were more or less shaped upon those of republican Rome.



PARTIAL RESTORATION OF BUILDINGS OF THE CAPITOL AND FORUM

The slopes of the Capitoline Hill are clearly seen in the rear. (Some buildings have been omitted in the foreground to avoid crowding the picture.) *A*, Temple of Jupiter (see ground plan on page 167). *B*, Temple of Juno. *C*, *Tabularium* (building for the state archives). *D*, Temple of Concordia. *E*, Temple of Vespasian. *F*, Temple of Saturn. *G*, Julian Basilica (with two side aisles on each side; it was begun by Caesar and finished by Augustus). *H*, Temple of Castor. *I*, Roman Forum; at the farther end are seen the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus, and next to it the *rostra*, the platform for public speakers, adorned with several high columns. *J* and *K* are two "imperial forums," *i.e.* large public squares surrounded by a wall and beautiful colonnades, and often containing a temple or basilica. *J* is the Forum of Julius Caesar; *K*, that of Nerva; *L*, Temple of Antonine and Faustina; *M*, place of Forum of Vespasian; *N*, place of Forum of Augustus.

It is interesting to see how real the contests for office were. In the city of Pompeii no less than 1500 posters, indorsing candidates for offices, have been found painted on the walls. They probably refer only to one election. A baker is recommended for quaestor (treasurer), because "he sells good bread"; while near by an aristocrat is supported because "it is well known that he will guard the treasury."

In *Rome* the old assemblies had faded away. Most of their functions had been given to the Senate. The city was ruled by magistrates appointed by either Emperor or Senate. The same was done with all the very large cities, as Alexandria, where imperial officers with a more absolute power controlled affairs. These officers were backed by detachments of soldiers, to hold the mob in check. Vigorous and able emperors were rather inclined to introduce this system, wholly or in part, into other municipalities, and to sweep away antiquated institutions which were less economic and efficient. Taken as a whole, local home government remained the rule during this period of the Empire.

330. The Provinces. — Above the towns there was no self-government. The provinces were ruled with absolute power by the governors. Provincial assemblies, which existed in some provinces, especially in Gaul, could merely advise the Emperor, or petition him, for instance against a tyrannical governor — a petition always sure of careful consideration. The governor was held strictly responsible for all his acts. Severe penalties were visited on him who neglected his duty.

331. Taxation was no doubt heavy, though much lighter than it had been under the former rulers of the same provinces. There was a land tax; a poll tax on every citizen and trader in a town; an inheritance tax of five per cent. In some provinces there were tariff duties on goods entering or departing. Some provinces paid their tax in grain, Egypt, for instance, being obliged to furnish 1,444,000 bushels of wheat each year, to feed the hungry masses of the capital. The taxes were collected with great consideration. If a province was stricken by some public calamity, the taxes were promptly lessened or remitted by imperial order. Above all, the people saw that they were getting something in return for their taxes. The government maintained the golden Roman Peace in all the lands around the Mediterranean. It protected navigation against pirates and travel on land against robbers. It prevented extortions on the part of officials. The improved law courts of all kinds dispensed justice efficiently.

And all along the threatened borders there stood the sleepless legions guarding the Empire and its civilization against barbarian inroads.

Many things indeed which a government does to-day the Roman government did not do. It had no efficient laws for the preservation of public morality and decency. It did not of set purpose maintain or encourage the building up of complete systems of education including elementary schools or of hospitals and asylums. Creations of this kind began to rise only after Christianity had come into full power. Nor did the people of that time expect the state to extend its activity to these fields.

332. The defense of the Empire was one of the most important tasks of the government. Happily boundaries formed by the Atlantic Ocean in the west and the sand deserts in the south did not require constant watching, like the northern edge of Roman Britain and the frontiers on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. These received careful attention. The standing army counted thirty legions of some six thousand men each, a force which, including the auxiliaries and naval troops, never amounted to more than 400,000. The inner provinces, as a rule, needed only a handful of soldiers for police duty. At one time 1200 sufficed to garrison all Gaul, while in the same country there are at present 200,000 French and more than 50,000 Belgian soldiers in time of peace.

The army recruited itself more and more from the frontier provinces in which the legions were stationed. It was a body of hired professional soldiers, who had intense pride in their fighting power, their privileges, and the Roman name. Later on barbarians were admitted in ever increasing numbers. The discipline was severe. In times of peace the soldiers were employed in the building of roads, bridges, aqueducts, and similar works. At the expiration of twenty years of service, the soldier commonly received a grant of land and the rights of citizenship. This helped to mix the many races of the Roman world. Along the frontier, too, cities arose around the stationary camps of the legions.

CONDITION OF THE POPULATION

333. Blessings of Political Unity. — The boundary lines between the many states around the Mediterranean had disappeared. One and the same government protected the traveling Spaniard in Italy, in Syria, in Egypt. The Greek could own property in Gaul and northern Africa. The wonderful system of Roman roads, which was ever being enlarged and perfected, and the navigation upon the Mediterranean Sea, which was now a Roman lake, promoted and encouraged intercourse among all the parts of the Empire. Hence the products of one land were at the disposal of all the others. The manufacturers of some city or district formerly had to cope with all kinds of difficulties to market their goods outside their own land. Now the whole Empire was open to them. Hence an immense traffic flowed ceaselessly between all the provinces.

Glass and paper came from Alexandria; silks, tapestries, morocco leather, from Syria; silverware from Ephesus. The land was better utilized. New cities arose. "Every day," says the Christian writer Tertullian, "the world becomes more beautiful, more wealthy, more splendid. No corner remains inaccessible. Every spot is the scene of trade. Forests give way to tilled acres. Wild beasts retreat before domestic animals. Everywhere are houses, people, cities."

334. Industries. — The chief industry was *farming*, which in most places served local needs. We must think of the city nearly always as being the core of a farming district around it. Only the "grain countries," as Egypt, many parts of Asia Minor, Sicily, and northern Africa, produced on a large scale for exportation. Unfortunately, the devouring of small farms by rich landlords (§ 259) began to show ominously in the provinces also. Near the great centers of population market gardening yielded an honest livelihood to thousands of industrious men.

In the cities numerous people made their living as weavers, fullers, goldsmiths, shoemakers, etc. In Rome the bakers' gild listed 254 different shops. There were 2300 places where olive oil was for sale. Above this class were the merchants, architects,

bankers, teachers, physicians. We read even of dentists and eye-and-ear specialists. No doubt there were many quacks among the physicians, but the more skilled ones earned enormous incomes. The highest rank was composed of lawyers, great state officials, army officers, and the owners of large estates. Banking was carried on, on almost modern lines. The great amount of business that was going on, and the numerous money transactions, made the bankers' business very lucrative, though only the richer bankers were looked upon with respect. In all these concerns, large and primitive, however, a considerable part of the work was commonly performed by slaves. Sometimes slaves ran the biggest banking firms in a city.

335. The amount of commerce going on in the Empire has already been indicated. There was also an immense traffic with foreign countries. The Roman trader went where Roman legions never camped. Somehow he penetrated into central Africa and brought ivory, spices, apes, rare marbles. We know that many merchants reaped immense riches by venturesome voyages to India, Ceylon, and the mouths of the Ganges; and that Canton in China received glass and metal wares, amber (from the Baltic), and jewels through Roman traders.

As soon as commerce outgrew local conditions, however, it made necessary a great amount of traveling. Business affairs could on the whole rarely be settled satisfactorily by correspondence, because there existed no general mailing system. (The postal service established by the emperors was strictly confined to government matters.) To get a letter from Lyons to Milan the business man had to wait until some reliable person, who happened to journey to that city, was willing to deliver it. But this chance correspondence did not suffice to carry on brisk business. Personal intercourse was required. Hence a large number of business men, managers, agents, trusted messengers, were constantly on the road.

336. As to refinement and luxuries in the homes of the rich, see § 257. The few indications given there are, however, utterly inadequate for the time we now have under consideration. Pliny the Elder, who died in 79 A.D., was considered moderate

because his daily dinner lasted only three hours. (At the table the Romans, like the Greeks, did not sit but reclined on couches.) The great variety and preciousness of table things and house furniture baffle description.

337. Unity of Feeling. — Most of the Roman lands had been united with the Empire by acts of cruel injustice. But when the people had experienced for some time the blessings of law and order, and been the object of the care of a large-minded administration, they forgot the past and became enthusiastic citizens of the world-wide Empire. Briton, Thracian, Greek, African, and Syrian, all called themselves proudly Romans. It was not a union brought on by force, but by the evident advantages which the Empire bestowed on all its members. The provinces furnished emperors, administrators, prominent men of letters. The schools in the provincial towns vied with those of Rome and often were superior to them. "No matter where we are in the world," says a Christian writer, "we live as fellow citizens, inclosed within the circuit of one city and grown up at the same domestic hearth. An equal law has made all men equal."

EDUCATION AND ART

338. Educational institutions of some kind or other were very numerous. The small towns had many elementary schools for the upper and middle classes, in which occasionally boys of the inferior ranks were admitted. Otherwise little was done to dispel the ignorance of the masses. The larger provincial cities possessed higher schools, of which especially those of Spain and Celtic Gaul were famous. To some of these students flocked from the whole Empire. The walls of the classrooms were painted with maps, dates, and lists of facts. The masters were appointed by the local magistrates, with life tenure and good pay, and with exemption from taxation.

In three cities, Rome, Athens, and Alexandria, there existed institutions which we should call *universities*. The one in Alexandria dated from the time of the Ptolemies (§ 187). Augustus

had founded the one at Athens. All either received money from the imperial treasury or possessed *endowments*, that is, estates, the revenue of which went to these institutions or to certain sections of them. The professors were highly salaried, and were assured a pension for life after twenty years of service. They had the rank of senators. Rome was famous for the study of law, while medicine was a specialty at Alexandria.

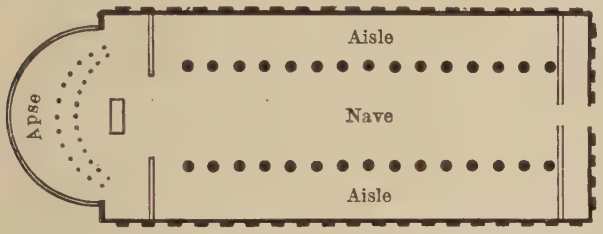
St. Paul-before-the-Walls, Rome

A basilica (see opposite page) built in the fourth century. It has five aisles. The medallions on both sides are pictures of the popes, beginning with St. Peter.

339. Arts. — The Romans adopted the arts of the Hellenistic world. They bought the products of Alexandrian or Greek sculptors and painters, or these themselves came to the West and found ample employment in the palaces of the rich. An endless number of the most perfect productions in gold and silver, in marble and terra cotta are constantly being unearthed in the ruins of all the once Roman countries. There are all kinds of

household things, toilet articles, cups, and other utensils for use at banquets; lamps, chandeliers, vases, and statues and statuettes which ornamented the houses and halls; imperial and private seals executed with wonderful exactness on small stones or in metal.

340. In architecture, too, the Romans followed the lead of the Hellenistic East. Their temples of this period look much like those built in Hellas (§§ 147 and 329). Yet they introduced some new elements, especially the *arch* (§ 229). The use



General Plan of a Basilica

The basilicas were halls serving for the sessions of law courts, public meetings, and similar purposes. They commonly were oblong in shape, and divided lengthwise into a wide central "nave" and two (or more) "aisles." At one end there was usually a raised semicircular "apse" with seats for the judges. Later on the Christians found this kind of building admirably adapted for their worship. For centuries nearly all the churches were built on this general plan, which eventually grew into the ground plan of the medieval churches.

of the arch is very prominent in structures of a utilitarian character, such as the *aqueducts*, which provided the large cities with good water. Twelve aqueducts, four of which are still in use, poured daily more than three hundred million gallons into the city of Rome. The *baths*, in the larger cities, commonly were grand buildings, providing for cold and warm baths. The magnificent baths erected by emperors in Rome contained also large halls for recreation, lecture rooms, and libraries. There were moreover the *theaters;* the *circuses* for horse races and other contests; the *amphitheaters* (all-around theaters) chiefly for the fights between animals or gladiators; numerous structures for govern-

ment purposes; and finally an endless number of large and small *temples*. We must also mention the many *triumphal arches* and memorial columns put up in honor of victorious emperors and generals, which by their inscriptions and pictorial representations contribute greatly to historical knowledge. A building peculiar

HALL OF THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN

The baths, erected by several emperors, were brilliant and monumental buildings, which, besides all possible accommodations for bathing, also contained large halls and commodious rooms for social enjoyment and even for study. Most of these buildings have almost entirely perished. But this particular one, like some other public buildings, was partly changed into a church and thus preserved from further destruction.

to this time was the *basilica*, a public hall for the sessions of courts of justice, and for various kinds of business. The basilica became the forerunner of the later Christian churches.

In general the Roman architects of this period built on grander dimensions than the Greeks. Their knowledge of the arch enabled them to cover passageways and even wide halls, if they chose, with vaulted ceilings. They liked display and profusiveness in the orna-

mental parts. They used the arch, too, for ornamentation, an instance of which is to be seen on the outside of the Coliseum (see page 239). Among the columns they preferred the Corinthian (§ 110), and often embellished even that by additional flourishes. They beautified the floors of temples and palaces and villas, and in rarer cases also the walls, with a profusion of *mosaics*. They used relief work (§ 22, note) very extensively on temples and other public buildings. The buildings, as a rule, were models of a noble taste. Many of them combined successfully the majestic massiveness of the Egyptian structure with the elegance and sometimes even the loveliness of the creations of the Hellenes.

341. Literature. — As remarked in § 229, Roman literature developed rather late. Its greatest time was that of the last period of the republic and the reign of Augustus. There were books and plays, the latter mostly translations or adaptations or imitations of Greek originals before the year 100 B.C. The historian **Polybius** died in 122 B.C. But the Roman literature, which has ever held the admiration of the following centuries, began with **Cicero** (106–43 B.C.) (§ 289). Cicero was prominent as an orator — second only to Demosthenes; great as a philosopher, though he did not produce a philosophical system of his own; and is generally renowned as the best prose writer of the Latin language. His time, the period of Pompey and Caesar, was favorable to the development of oratory, and he was by no means the only great public speaker in Rome. (Caesar himself figured next to him in the opinion of contemporaries, but we possess none of Caesar's speeches.) By one of his speeches Cicero procured for Pompey, with whom he sided, the appointment as general for the war against Mithridates, § 285. The fact that fifty-seven of his orations have survived and have been admired and studied for two thousand years is evidence of their excellence. We also possess no less than thirteen philosophical works by his pen, and 864 letters — all of which show his perfect mastery of the Latin tongue. This was, however, a time of great literary productivity, and many other names shine brilliantly in the heaven of Roman literature during the following centuries. **Livy,** the historian, was a contemporary of Augustus. **Tacitus** wrote history during the time of the Flavian emperors.

Under Augustus Rome produced her greatest *poets:* **Horace,** unrivaled in lyric poetry; **Virgil,** who, besides other works, produced the *Aeneid*, a kind of Roman *Iliad* (§ 76); and **Ovid,** known for his easy-flowing poems on various subjects. These, too, are surrounded and followed by a large number of poets, who though not their equals yet produced a great variety of commendable works.

During the second half of the first century also the books of the **New Testament** were written, which together with the Old Testament form the most important of all productions of the world's literature. Their real author is God Himself, and their purpose is infinitely higher than that of all literary compositions of the most brilliant human authors.

Of writers on natural sciences we must mention **Pliny the Elder,** who compiled an exhaustive *Natural History,* in which he summarizes whatever was known to the ancients in zoölogy, botany, mineralogy, physics, geography, astronomy, etc. Pliny perished while climbing Mount Vesuvius during its eruption (§ 321). He was the only Roman that wrote on the sciences, which were cultivated extensively in the East. The Alexandrian **Ptolemy,** great as mathematician, geographer, and astronomer, after much study fixed the astronomical system which dominated the world until Copernicus.

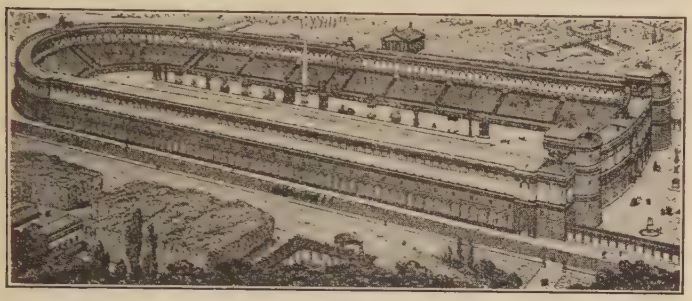
Besides Cicero, **Seneca,** the teacher of Nero, is known as a **philosophical** writer. The emperor **Marcus Aurelius,** too, wrote on philosophy. These based their teachings upon the tenets of Stoicism (§ 189), which indeed found many adherents among the educated classes of Rome. Rome produced no new philosophical system of her own.

MORALS

342. Unfortunately the picture of Roman morals has many more dark colors than bright ones. The Greeks had added to their own depravity the customs of the Orient. The facility of intercommunication furnished by the Roman Empire helped to spread both through the lands of the Mediterranean. Though Rome never officially accepted polygamy, as the East did, the family tie became in wide circles a thing of the past. Adultery was almost a matter of fashion. Divorces, always permitted by the Roman law, became dreadfully frequent. Many preferred criminal celibacy to honorable marriage. It was by no means rare that fathers made use of the barbarous "right" of exposing their children rather than rearing them. Destruction of the blossoming life was in general vogue. Laws which imposed a special tax on bachelors, and gave privileges to every father of three children, did not have the desired effect.

343. The gladiatorial shows greatly fostered this contempt for human life (§ 261). These brutalizing performances had

increased enormously in number and size. Dozens of gladiators fought for life with wild beasts or with one another. On some occasions regular armies of hundreds of them displayed before a rejoicing crowd all the horrors of the battle field. This was the choice delight, not only of the rabble, but of the most educated society, including the most refined ladies. Even the Vestal Virgins (§ 196) witnessed these orgies of cruelty and blood.



RESTORATION OF THE CIRCUS OF CALIGULA AND NERO

The circuses were for chariot races. The seats were arranged as in the theaters and amphitheaters. Along the central line stretched the "spine," distinguished by ornamental columns.

344. Slavery, too, was a most fruitful source of moral and other evils. The cruelty with which slaves were generally treated (§ 262), the heartlessness with which old and disabled slaves were left to die, increased the contempt for human life. The abyss of vice that is indicated by the complete dependence of this unfortunate class upon all the whims and even passions of the master and mistress cannot be described. Slavery, moreover, tended to crowd out the free labor of the poorer classes, both in town and country, and this despite some laudable efforts of the government to prevent it.

345. The position of women improved in that the customs of the Empire practically did away with the status of wives as legally the slaves of their husbands (§ 199). Women now engaged in various trades. They became women's physicians. Many of

them took to writing, though none of their productions have come down to our own times. They too were subject to the baneful influence which Roman slavery had upon masters and mistresses (their refined cruelty toward their female slaves was well known);

AMPHITHEATER OF NÎMES, SOUTHERN FRANCE

One of the smaller buildings of this kind. The amphitheaters ("all-around-theaters") served chiefly for gladiatorial shows (§ 343), which took place in the oblong arena in the center. Here, too, Christians were thrown to the lions. This amphitheater is 440 feet long, 336 feet wide, and 70 feet high. The arena measures 227 by 126½ feet. The stone seats, rising in tiers, accommodated 24,000 spectators. The structure is kept in repair and, as the benches in the foreground show, is used for public entertainments.

their characters and minds were degraded by the bloody and lascivious shows; and they had before them the unspeakably bad example of the men, including their own husbands (if they had any). Thus they became largely estranged from their natural position as queens of domestic society, and contributed their ample share to the general demoralization.

346. Relieving features, however, are not entirely lacking. We find instances of genuine friendship, of true affection among the members of families, of generosity toward the needy. We hear of homes for poor children and for orphan girls. We know that on one occasion the rich of Rome opened their purses for the relief of sufferers. Laws were passed to give some protection to the slaves. Money donations made possible the institution of libraries for the public. In acting thus unselfishly men may have been prompted by that noble delight which characters not wholly depraved feel in works of kindness. Or they may have been influenced by the Stoics' doctrine (§ 189) of a general brotherhood of men. Or they may have adopted some of the principles of the Christian religion, which, though still persecuted, appealed to many by its practice of charity. But in spite of such isolated examples to the contrary, the predominating character of the Roman world was that of insatiable, cold-blooded avarice, unbounded pride, and a voluptuousness which brooked no restriction of right or decency.

CONCLUSION

The Roman monarchy no doubt achieved great things. For defending vast territories from the horrors of war; for preserving order and security in the interior; for promoting material welfare, and the spread of civilization among its countless citizens: it deserves our admiration. Never again did the same lands enjoy such an unbroken period of rest as was granted to them by the Roman Peace. But if one of the most sacred duties of the state is to prevent the impoverishment of the most numerous classes and protect them against being overreached by the rich, the Empire failed. The poor became ever poorer, and ever more numerous, while the rich grew fewer and had every opportunity to increase their possessions to a fabulous extent. The Empire failed, too, in stopping the flood of immorality, which like a torrent of destruction rolled its waves into all stations of life and into all the localities, which otherwise rested so securely under

the wings of the Roman eagles. The Roman Peace moreover contributed a very great share toward making the population less warlike. Thus in many ways these glorious centuries prepared the later downfall of the Empire, though that catastrophe was still several centuries away.

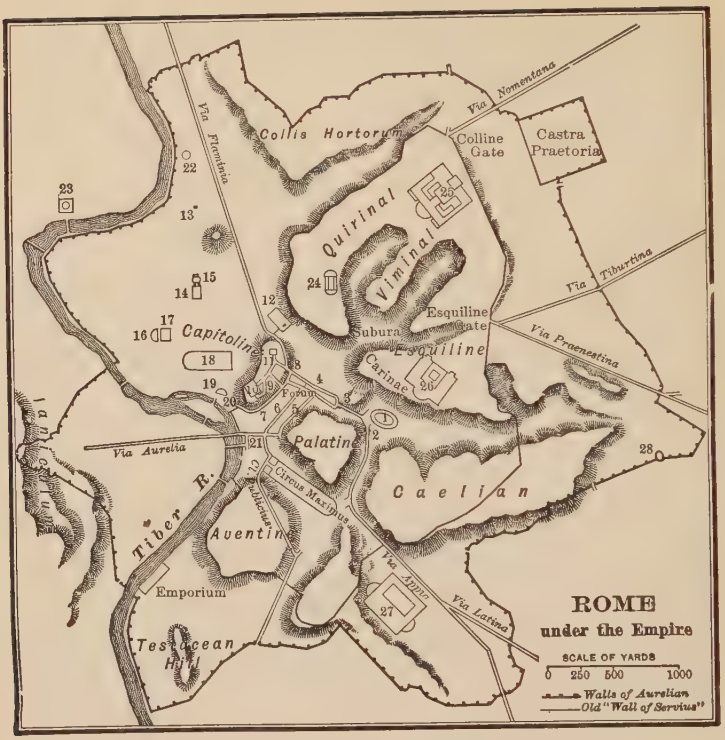
CHAPTER XXVI

A CENTURY OF DECLINE (180–284)

THE STORY OF THE EMPERORS

347. General Character of the Emperors. — With Commodus, the son of the great Marcus Aurelius, began the period of the **barrack emperors,** who were set up by the praetorians in Rome or the troops in various parts of the Empire and fell, most of them, by the hands of the same or other soldiers. It was now that the uncertainty of the succession bore its worst fruits (§ 328). Once the praetorians raised an emperor whom they killed three months later, offering the throne to the highest bidder, and selling it to one who promised to each soldier a thousand dollars. By far the greater number who thus rose to the supreme power were unfit to rule and desecrated their position by vices of all kinds. There were, however, several good rulers among them, who saved the state both from anarchy and from the invasion of foreign enemies.

348. Alexander Severus (222–235), though not gifted with the sternness which was necessary in so troublesome a time, greatly benefited the empire. His court was simple and pure, his actions at home dictated by charity. Under him Roman law was better developed and organized by his friend Ulpian. In the East the Parthian kingdom, which had been the permanent foe of Rome, gave way to a new Persia, which inherited the Parthian enmity against Rome. Alexander Severus with some difficulty defended the frontier. He also repulsed the Teutons, who with renewed force repeated their inroads across the Rhine and Danube. The thirteen years of his reign were an oasis of peace and plenty in the dreary third century. He had been raised by the soldiers and died at their hands.



1. Coliseum.
2. Arch of Constantine.
3. Arch of Titus.
4. Via Sacra.
5. Via Nova.
6. Vicus Tuscus.
7. Vicus Jugarius.
8. Arch of Septimius Severus.
9. Clivus Capitolinus.
10. Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
11. Arch.
12. Column of Trajan.
13. Column of Antoninus.
14. Baths of Agrippa.
15. Pantheon.
16. Theater of Pompey.
17. Portico of Pompey.
18. Circus Flaminius.
19. Theater of Marcellus.
20. Forum Holitorium.
21. Forum Boarium.
22. Mausoleum of Augustus.
23. Mausoleum of Hadrian.
24. Baths of Constantine.
25. Baths of Diocletian.
26. Baths of Titus.
27. Baths of Caracalla.
28. Amphitheatrum Castrense.

349. Phantom emperors followed one another in bewildering confusion. Among them *Decius*, able enough, used a considerable part of his energy during the short two years which the soldiers allowed him to rule for a fierce persecution of the Christians. The emperor *Valerian* was captured by the Persian king Sapor and died in humiliating captivity. In the sixties there were so many claimants of the throne that this time is referred to as the age of the "Thirty Tyrants" (§ 168). The Empire seemed in ruins. It was sunk in anarchy and split into fragments by the jealousies of the rival legions. The Germanic barbarians worked their will in the frontier provinces. The Persians made use of the Empire's weakness for conquests.

350. Aurelian (270–274) undertook vigorously the restoration of law and order in the interior and drove the barbarians back across the boundaries. In Gaul he quelled an attempt at independence. In the East he defeated *Zenobia*, who had made herself queen of a large territory. Once in his reign the German Alemanni penetrated as far as the Po, and threw Italy into a panic. Rome, which had not feared an invader since the days of Hannibal, might now be attacked by a new foe. Aurelian surrounded the city with mighty walls — a grand work, which, however, showed how the times had changed. Aurelian's five years compare well with the five years of Caesar. His early death was a calamity for the Empire.

After Aurelian's death there followed another time of confusion lasting until 284, when Diocletian, the man who was going to put the Empire upon an entirely new basis, grasped the reins of government.

CONDITIONS IN THE EMPIRE

351. The third century was a period of decline. The bad emperors were too many, and the reigns of the good emperors were too short. The wonderful machinery of Roman administration refused to work here and there, and sometimes everywhere. The safety on land and sea was no longer what it had been. The officials, not always kept in check by the fear of a strong central government, fell back upon their old practices of oppression. The frontier provinces fared the worst because

the barbarians on all sides availed themselves of the distracted state of the Empire to invade them repeatedly and carry off both goods and people. All classes of people, especially the business world, suffered greatly under this lack of law and order.

352. Decline of the Population. — With the spread of immorality the people became more and more averse to honorable marriage and the responsibilities of parenthood. Besides, the greater part of the population consisted of slaves, who on account of their condition could not marry or rear families. The Teutonic barbarians, too, sometimes carried off the population of entire provinces into slavery. We know that on one occasion Marcus Aurelius, after a victorious war with the Quadi, forced them to give up 50,000 Roman captives. Such successes, however, could not always be effected. Worst of all, during the previous century, in 166, a new Asiatic plague swept from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, carrying off, we are told, half of the population. This plague later on returned several times, desolating wide regions and demoralizing agriculture and industry. It speaks very favorably for emperors like Aurelian, that with the empire thus afflicted they were able to ward off foreign attacks, or at least come to honorable terms with the enemy. One of the means often used was to give to turbulent Teutonic tribes land in some desolated region within the empire and thus make peaceful settlers of dangerous enemies. This as well as the allotment of land to pensioned-off soldiers filled, to some extent, the gaps left by pestilence and immorality, though it was not by far enough to stop the slow but irresistible process of depopulation.

CHAPTER XXVII

RISE OF CHRISTIANITY

SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY

353. The Times of the Apostles. — The birthday of the Church of Christ is the day of Pentecost after our Lord's resurrection and ascension into heaven. On this day St. Peter preached the first missionary sermon with the result that 3000 persons joined Christ's kingdom and were baptized. The apostles at first confined their efforts to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, where numerous communities of fervent Christians soon grew up. A persecution under King Herod Agrippa scattered the flourishing congregation of Jerusalem far beyond the boundaries of Palestine. Before this time St. Peter had already received into the Church the pagan Cornelius, a Roman officer. Now the conversion of pagans began on a large scale. When coming to a city, the apostles indeed started their work among the Jews, who in all larger cities possessed their own quarter with one or more synagogues. Among these Jews, called the "Jews of the Dispersion," frequently the first Christian congregation of the town was started. As a class, however, the Jews found the kingship of Christ too unworldly and refused to be baptized, while the pagans were converted in large numbers. The apostle St. Paul, miraculously converted by Christ himself, made it his special task to preach to the pagans. Of the labors of no apostle do we possess such detailed records as of those of St. Paul. He preached in all the large cities of Asia Minor and Greece, and came also several times to Rome. St. Peter had already transferred his residence to that capital of the world and founded the Church of Rome.

The arrival of the humble fisherman of Galilee made Rome what she was destined to be: the residence of the Vicars of Christ on earth. It was the greatest event in her history. St. Peter died a martyr's death by crucifixion during the persecution of Nero. St. Paul was beheaded on the same day. "These are the men, O Rome, through whom the splendor of the Gospel began to shine in thee, so that from a teacher of error thou becamest the disciple of truth. These are they that lifted thee up to thy present glory, that, being the head of the world by the Chair of Peter, thou rulest a wider domain than thy worldly empire ever embraced" (St. Leo I).

354. Supernatural Causes of the Spread of Christianity. — It is estimated that a hundred years after the death of Jesus Christ there were about a million Christians, and their number increased more rapidly in the following century. **The chief cause** of this spread was the will of God that it should come about in spite of all obstacles and handicaps, and the greatest means was the power of His grace. If we look for some more detailed causes, we find the following:

(*a*) Christianity had a most powerful ally in the natural desire of every human heart for truth and happiness. It held out a perfect retribution for the good that remains unrewarded in this world, and the moral evil that remains unpunished. It solved the problem of suffering by pointing to the suffering and dying God-Man, and to the glory that is in store in the other world. All these teachings, in themselves so extremely reasonable, it proposed in so simple a garb as to be intelligible to the learned and the unlearned.

(*b*) The virtuous life of the Christians made a strong appeal to those not entirely corrupt.

(*c*) On various occasions, chiefly during the sufferings of the martyrs, miracles happened which it was impossible to deny.

(*d*) All the Christians, not only the priests and bishops, but the faithful as well, including women and slaves, showed a remarkable missionary zeal. It was through soldiers that many of the Christian communities along the Rhine and Danube and elsewhere were established.

355. Natural Causes of the Spread of Christianity. — In many ways the Roman world had prepared the way for the new religion.

(*a*) *Political unity.* "It was part of the divine plan," says Pope Leo the Great, "that the several kingdoms and realms should be united under one empire, thus making all nations easily accessible to the preaching of the Gospel." As Roman citizens, or as members of an "allied" nation, the messengers of Christ could travel to any part of the vast Roman dominions.

(*b*) *Unity of language.* Latin and Greek were understood in all the great centers around the Mediterranean.

(*c*) The excellent *Roman roads*, and the general safety in traveling by land and sea.

(*d*) The *liberal Roman policy as to religions.* All gods of the universe were welcome at Rome, provided they did not get into conflict with the imaginary interest of the state. This enabled the Christians for a long time to live up to the tenets of their faith. That conflict was, however, sure to come.

(*e*) *Greek philosophy* had to some extent prepared many minds to a greater seriousness of thought. This was true of the Stoics in particular, whose adherents were rather numerous among the educated classes (§ 189).

(*f*) There was also growing up among thinking men a conviction that the *ridiculous medley* of gods and goddesses, all of whom were subject to the cravings and vices of ordinary mortals, could not possibly benefit mankind.

Those who think that these natural conditions explain the spread of Christianity satisfactorily are mistaken. If nothing else had been needed, there is no reason why the whole Empire should not have turned Christian within a few years. Only divine grace was able to help men overcome the fearful array of obstacles which confronted every prospective convert to the new religion.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS

356. The Persecutions. — The religion of Christ had to pass through persecutions when still confined to Jerusalem and Pales-

tine. As soon as its adherents became numerous and prominent enough to attract attention in Rome, the emperors at once began to punish them in the most cruel manner (§ 319). The most innocent people were brutally scourged, mutilated, crowded into filthy dungeons, banished, deprived of their possessions, forced to work as slaves in mines, exposed to the wild beasts, and beheaded, crucified, or executed in some other painful and ignominious manner. Those who thus died for Christ are called *martyrs*, witnesses, because they witnessed with their life to the truth of the Christian religion. These persecutions lasted three hundred years. If a man became a Christian, he knew that he had to be prepared for such suffering.

Bronze Lamp with the Monogram of Christ

357. Causes of the Persecutions. — *The real reason* was the opposition of the world and the "prince of the world" to God and His Son, Jesus Christ. "If they have persecuted Me they will also persecute you" (John XV, 20). But there are certain circumstances and conditions which served as pretexts in accusing the Christians, or which roused the rabble in the streets to demand the death of the Christians.

(*a*) Rome would have allowed the Christians to adore whatever they pleased, if the Christians had not at the same time declared that there was no God but theirs, the God "Who made heaven and earth," and if they had not refused to worship the gods of Rome. This opposition became very acute when the worship of the deceased emperors had developed into a sort of state religion, which everybody was obliged to perform. (See § 308.)

(*b*) The Christians, of course, could not be present at the gladiatorial and theatrical shows or participate in the lascivious

feastings given in honor of the false gods. For this reason they were called "enemies of the human race."

(*c*) The Christians were said to be guilty of horrible crimes such as eating the flesh of children, adoring a goat's head, fostering conspiracies against the Empire and the "divine" emperors, etc. They were blamed for any calamity which befell the Empire. "When the Tiber rises above its banks, when the Nile does not overflow, when the earth quakes, up goes the cry, 'The Christians to the lions.'"

358. The Principal Persecutions. — Since Nero began his persecution, it was the principle of the Roman government "that there must be no more Christians." Some emperors made new efforts to destroy Christianity, and Church historians commonly distinguish *ten persecutions*, named after the emperors who ordered them. These persecutions covered, in all, perhaps eighty years out of the nearly three hundred between the death of Christ and the Edict of Milan, 313, which put a stop to them for good. But since the imperial decrees which inaugurated them were never revoked, the governors of the various provinces could always, if they felt inclined to do so, proceed against the Christians under their jurisdiction. Thus it is that in reality there was hardly ever any time when the Church was not persecuted in some part of the Empire.

359. The fiercest persecutors were Decius (250–253) and Diocletian (294–305). Both carried on their persecutions more systematically than any of the previous emperors had done. Under Decius the number of apostates was great, because just before him there had been comparative peace for about forty years. But greater was the number of those who followed in the footsteps of former heroes. Diocletian, otherwise a man to whom the Empire owed very much, was persuaded by bad advisers that the Christians were enemies to the state. He bent his whole indomitable energy to the task of destroying the new religion altogether. The dungeons were so overcrowded with bishops and clerics that there was no room for robbers and other criminals.

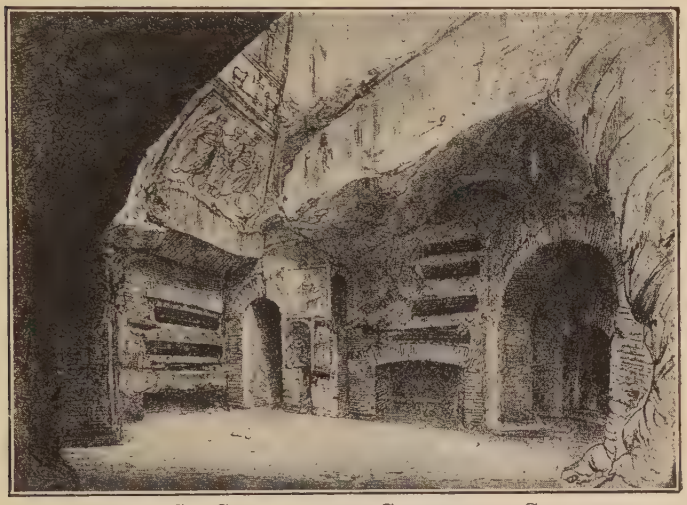
The death sentences sometimes amounted to a hundred a day. Whole cities were surrounded by the soldiers and set on fire, thus killing the entire population. Uncountable numbers were condemned to work in the mines. Men and women of the highest positions, including the emperor's household, were among the slain. After Diocletian this persecution was for many years continued by the several rulers of the East. It was doomed to failure. With it ended the period of bloody conflicts through which the Church had to pass. The prince of darkness who had been enthroned in his idols for thousands of years in the temples of antiquity fled before the Prince of Light and Peace.

360. The Church was assailed with intellectual weapons also. There were literary attacks, both satirical and "scientific," upon the Christian religion, its founder, its promoters, and its members. The philosopher Celsus, in the second century, was the author of the most clever and most bitter assault in the form of a book. Other attacks employed a more direct method. The Neo-Pythagoreans attempted to raise Pythagoras (see § 112) and the magician Apollonius to a level with Jesus Christ by representing them as models of human virtue and as miracle workers. The Neo-Platonists (see § 188) explained the stories of the gods and goddesses as allegories, established a rough kind of monotheism, and adopted a number of Christian teachings. The fight with them was carried through triumphantly by such able Christian apologists as the Syrian philosopher Justin; by Clement and Origen of Alexandria; and by the Africans, Tertullian, and Cyprian. Unwittingly, all these pagan efforts showed the hopelessness and insufficiency of the old religion.

361. The catacombs are underground galleries, excavated in the soft rock in the neighborhood of the city of Rome, running in every direction, often on several levels or "stories," and widening here and there into rooms and more spacious halls. The uppermost of them are about thirty or forty feet below the surface. Their purpose was to serve as regular burial places for the Christians. On both sides of the galleries niches were hollowed out. After the bodies had been deposited in these, the niches were closed by stone slabs which usually received inscriptions.

There were more notable graves for prominent persons, and for the martyrs. If placed in a straight line, these galleries would stretch through the whole length of Italy.

During the many periods of persecution the Christians held their religious services in these abodes of the dead. The tombs of the martyrs served as altars. Hence the custom of inclosing relics of martyrs in all our altars.



Crypt of St. Cecilia in the Catacomb of Callistus

About 1100 A.D. the memory of the very existence of the catacombs had disappeared. They had to be rediscovered. Prominent men now devote all their talents to the study and further exploration of this forgotten world. The inscriptions on the tombs, the pictures on the walls — very frequent is the representation of Christ as the Good Shepherd — disclose a living faith in the resurrection, in the value of the prayers for the dead, in the power of the intercession of the deceased for the living. They reveal a touching love between the faithful in general, and between the members of families in particular. They show that

the saintly men and women that buried their dear ones in those rows of graves and were buried there themselves believed what we believe, and what the Church will believe to the end of the world.

362. The number of the martyrs has often been overrated. It is simply impossible to give definite figures. But from the indications preserved in the writings of the time, pagan as well as Christian, historians conclude that at least a hundred thousand laid down their lives for the religion of Jesus Christ. This amounts to one martyr for nearly every day of the three centuries.

Christianity had to conquer the world in the face of overwhelming obstacles. It had to enforce the observance of the Ten Commandments upon a population which had contracted the strongest habit of violating them in the most outrageous manner. All the physical force the mightiest of empires could muster was arrayed against the Church. As the world persecuted Christ, it also persecuted His followers. If we add to this the religious, moral, and social conditions prevailing in the Roman Empire, and the fact that the new religion could have no attraction for man's natural inclinations, we gladly agree with those who see in its victory a miracle which alone would suffice to prove its divine origin.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE LAST CENTURY OF THE UNITED EMPIRE

DIOCLETIAN (284–305 A.D.)

363. Diocletian, a stern Illyrian officer, the grandson of a slave, was himself a barrack emperor. He possessed a clear insight into the needs of the Empire, an unbendable energy, and that peculiar sagacity which enables great rulers to find efficient and reliable coworkers. Diocletian was convinced that the system of government must be entirely remodeled. He went at his task with consummate thoroughness.

364. RECASTING OF THE ADMINISTRATION. Abolition of Republican Forms. — So far the power of the emperors had been concealed under republican forms and titles (§ 297). The various officers below the emperors went by republican names. There remained, too, some traces of republican assemblies. Diocletian reasoned that it would be much better if the supreme power of the emperors were exteriorly expressed by royal splendor and by the pompous trappings of a king. So he put away all the republican titles, retaining only that of Emperor. In Greek he styled himself *Basileus*, " King." He assumed all the external splendor of Oriental despots. The Persian kings became his model. He was no longer the first of fellow citizens (§ 306), but lord and master. The citizens were to be his obedient servants. They could not approach him without prostrating themselves to the ground. He was to take care of them without their coöperation or advice. The republican names of the subordinate offices disappeared, with the exception of *high priest*, which Diocletian himself appropriated, and that of *consul*, which became a mere term of honor. The civil and military officers

received new titles. The flimsy remnants of republican assemblies also went by the board. Only the Senate remained as a municipal body with no influence upon the laws of the state.

365. New Administrative Divisions. — So far the governors of the forty odd provinces had been immediately under the emperor, which made a close inspection very difficult. Diocletian subdivided the provinces so as to make about 120 of them. Every three or five provinces were formed into a *diocese*, with a special head called *vicar*, and a number of dioceses made up a *prefecture* under a *prefect*. There were four prefectures, directly under the Emperor. Thus the governor could send important matters up to the vicar; the vicar would handle most of them, and send the rest up to the prefect; who in turn could confer about them with the emperor, if necessary. Unquestionably this helped very greatly to expedite affairs. The governors, vicars, and prefects, moreover, were strictly civil officers. They had no military power. The army was under a separate management (§ 69).

366. Part Emperors. — Finally, Diocletian divided the imperial duties and privileges among four men. Two had the title *Augustus*, namely, Diocletian himself and Maximian; two were styled *Caesar*, Galerius and Constantius Chlorus. Each Augustus had a Caesar attached to him. Thus Diocletian and Galerius ruled the East, Maximian and Constantius the West. Each of the four was at the head of a prefecture, having under him both the prefect and the commanders of the army in that part. The East and the West were roughly separated by a line running north and south through the mouth of the Adriatic. (*H. T. F.*, "Orient and Occident.") To regulate the succession, it was supposed that all should rule twenty years in their capacity, and that then the two Augustuses should abdicate, the Caesars succeed to their place, and two new Caesars be appointed. There was no thought of dividing the Empire as such or of establishing four separate empires. There was to be one Empire. The four "part-emperors" were to act as one, but each was to limit

his care to the sections assigned to him. Diocletian had picked his men with great wisdom. They harmonized wonderfully. To emphasize the unity of the Empire, their decrees were always signed by all four rulers.

367. The system of the Empire, thus radically remodeled, worked excellently. After the disturbances of the barrack emperors law and order returned, and the boundaries of the Empire were efficiently defended. The only great drawback was the expense. There were now so many more governors; there were the new offices of the vicars and prefects; and each of these administrators needed his staff of assistants and clerical help. There were besides four pompous imperial courts with their hundreds of courtiers and retainers. And all these men had to be supported by taxes. The payment of the taxes became indeed a very heavy burden of the population.

368. The Successors. — In 305 Diocletian, following his own plan of succession, abdicated, and Maximian, the other Augustus, willy nilly, did the same. Constantius Chlorus and Galerius were now Augustuses, each with a new Caesar. But when Constantius Chlorus died, the following year (at York in Britain), his soldiers, without waiting for any arrangement to be made by the other emperors, proclaimed his son, **Constantine,** Emperor — again a barrack emperor. Soon no less than six "emperors" were in the field, partly raised by the soldiers. Civil war raged for eight years. Diocletian's method of regulating the succession had broken down completely.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT

369. Accession of Constantine as Sole Ruler. — There were three claimants in the West, Constantine, Maximian, who had resumed the imperial purple again, and Maxentius, who controlled Italy and Africa. Maximian was killed. Maxentius suffered a decisive defeat at the *Milvian Bridge, 312,* and was drowned in the Tiber. In the East meanwhile a new man, Licinius, had become sole ruler. *Constantine and Licinius,* then, ruled the

Empire, each without any Caesar or part-emperor. After some years a quarrel broke out between the two. Constantine conquered his rival and became sole emperor, 323.

370. THE VICTORY OF CHRISTIANITY is closely connected with the battle of the Milvian Bridge. Constantine had inherited from his father a certain leaning toward Christianity. When he was marching upon Maxentius, one day while he was pondering on the heavy odds that were against him, he and the soldiers who happened to be with him beheld in the skies a fiery cross with the inscription, "In this thou wilt conquer." During the following night he had a vision of Christ, Who told him to approach the enemy under the standard of the cross. This he did. The new standard, called the "labarum," preceded his host in the battle. Constantine himself publicly ascribed the glorious victory to the God of the Christians.

In the following year, 313, the two emperors jointly issued the DECREE OF MILAN, inspired by Constantine, by which full liberty was granted to the Christians. This decree marks the beginning of a new era for Christianity, for the Empire, and for the world at large. It is the greatest document that has ever been issued by any secular ruler.

The Decree of Milan put the Christians entirely on the same level as the pagans. It did away with all obstacles which had made it impossible for them to hold civil or military offices. It also ordered returned to them all churches, with the estates and movable goods owned by the churches. Incidentally *it recognized the Christian communities as capable of holding property.* The decree made it clear, however, that there was no intention to diminish in the least the rights of the pagans. Christianity was to be one of the two religions now recognized by the state.

371. The Rulers and Christianity. — *Licinius* always remained a pagan. He probably had given his consent to the decree only because he was urged by Constantine. He later on disregarded the Milan Decree and even started a violent perse-

cution of the Christians. His defeat by Constantine was widely accepted as a divine verdict in favor of Christianity.

Constantine himself showed by his actions all through his life that he sincerely believed Christianity to be the one true religion, though, following an erroneous custom of his time, he delayed

THE LATERAN BASILICA, "ST. JOHN-IN-THE-LATERAN," ROME

This site, on which then stood the extensive palace named after the Laterani family, was donated to the popes by Constantine the Great, who also built this basilica. Its present shape, however, is of a later date. The palace served for more than a thousand years as the regular residence of the Sovereign Pontiff. It is now much smaller than originally, and harbors the Pontifical Museum of Christian Antiquities. The present Italian government declared this venerable ecclesiastical possession state property, but leaves it provisionally under papal "administration."

his baptism until shortly before his death. He was no doubt also prompted by considerations of statesmanship when he took the momentous step which threw the history of the world into new channels. Numerically, indeed, the Christians were powerless, being at the most about one tenth of the population. Their

organization, too, was neither intended nor fitted for military or political purposes. But what the state needed above all was to have morality restored and decaying society renewed, and this could be expected from Christianity. He knew the perfection of its moral code — the Ten Commandments; he knew that the Christians were prepared to die rather than violate their duty. He also knew that the persecutions with their cruel arbitrariness served to demoralize society still more, and that they had no other result than to deprive the state of thousands of its best and most useful citizens. Constantine was clear-minded and unbiased enough to realize these facts, and he possessed the courage and moral strength to go by his conviction and face the antagonism of a pagan world. He followed up his policy by bringing the Roman law more and more into harmony with the demands of Christian morality. He wanted to be a Christian emperor. *In him indeed the imperial dignity obtained the position which Divine Providence had destined for it, namely, that of being the protector of the Church of Jesus Christ.* Unfortunately, toward the end of his life he also meddled with matters of a purely ecclesiastical character. Taken all in all, the work of his long reign has resulted in rare blessings for the whole world.

372. Constantine the Great as Ruler. — Constantine kept up the external form of the Oriental monarchy which Diocletian had adopted. He also maintained the excellent division and subdivision of the Empire with its many grades of administrative officials. His greatest deed as ruler, next to the recognition of Christianity, was the transfer of the capital from Rome to Byzantium on the Bosphorus. He renamed it **Constantinople,** *i.e.*, Constantine's City. In Rome both the old families and the populace clung to the traditions, names, and titles of the republican past. The city was too far away from the Danube and the eastern frontier, then the most threatened points of the boundary. Constantinople was far more fit to become a center of world commerce than old Rome. Constantine spared no expense to make his city a rival of Rome in brilliancy and grandeur,

and it became thoroughly Christian. Unofficially, Constantinople was occasionally referred to as Byzantium. Whenever there was, in the years after Constantine, a special emperor of the West, he did not reside at Rome, but at either Milan, Treves, or Ravenna.

This removal of the center of the Orientalized Empire to the Orient greatly strengthened the power of resistance against foreign foes. But in the farther future it was to have consequences which Constantine could not have foreseen. As no emperor ever again took up his residence in Rome, **this city more and more changed into the city of the popes.** Unhampered by the presence of an imperial court the successors of St. Peter could display the innate power of their office, and gradually they became the most prominent men in Rome and all Italy, nay in the entire West. This transfer, too, made it possible for the West, in later centuries, to drift away from the East and follow its own development, unhindered by eastern conditions, and thus to bring about the peculiar civilization of western Europe, which is our own.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO THEODOSIUS

373. The Sons of Constantine (337–361). — Constantine divided the Empire between his three sons, Constantine II, Constans, and Constantius. The division meant dissension and war. Constantius finally became sole emperor. More than any other ruler did he meddle in ecclesiastical questions.

374. Julian the Apostate (361–363), a cousin of Constantius, was raised to the throne by the legions in Gaul, where he successfully repulsed an invasion of the Alemanni (§ 275, note). He had fallen away from Christianity (hence his surname), and now set his mind to a restoration of paganism. He did not resort to persecution, though he allowed his governors to torture and murder Christians. He excluded Christians from the court and all higher offices, the bench and the bar, and forbade them to teach or study in the higher schools. His aim was to make them appear

a contemptible class, fit only to be " hewers of wood and drawers of water." A number of Christians indeed apostatized, but Julian's reign though short was long enough to show that *this last official attempt to restore paganism was a complete failure.*

375. Theodosius the Great (379–395). — After several very brief reigns of emperors raised by the troops, *Valentinian* (364–375) ruled with vigor, and again drove back the Alemanni. With

The Black Gate at Treves (Trier)
The noblest Roman ruin in Germany.

him his brother Valens ruled the East. Valens admitted the Visigoths into the Empire, and afterwards was conquered and killed by them, 378 A.D. This is the beginning of the *Migration of Nations*, to which we shall devote much space later on. Valens was succeeded by *Theodosius the Great*, who once more united the several sections of the Empire. **After Theodosius' death, 395, the Empire fell apart to remain one in theory, but never again one in fact.**

Theodosius the Great was a highly cultured, thoroughly Christian ruler. Though in Rome, chiefly among the senatorial families, paganism still numbered many adherents, the new religion had practically become the dominant one. Theodosius forbade the practice of paganism under pain of death. (*H. T. F.*, "Vestal Virgins.") With what degree of severity this law was put into effect, we do not know. In the remoter places of the country the gods were still worshiped more than a hundred years later. (Hence the name "pagan," from a Latin word meaning "rustic." For a similar reason the Christianized Teutons, at a later time, came to describe the adherents of the old worship as "heathens," *i.e.*, heath-dwellers.)

CHRISTIANITY

376. The spread of the Christian religion naturally became more rapid after the terror of the persecutions had ceased. Priests and bishops devoted their zeal unchecked to the instruction of prospective converts ("catechumens"). The bulk of city populations gradually accepted Christianity. The truths of the immortality of every human soul, the equality of all men as creatures of God and redeemed with the blood of Christ, the doctrine of charity for God's sake, penetrated human society and began to show their effect. The destroyed churches were restored. A great period of church building set in, which lasted for centuries. The churches, erected preferably in the "basilica style" (§ 340), helped to give to the cities and towns a Christian aspect. (In the East most of the pagan temples were destroyed; in the West the most beautiful of them remained as works of art, and were even for a long time kept in repairs at public expense.)

377. Lingering Paganism. — The favors shown by the emperors to the Christians caused individuals and whole families to profess Christianity merely to follow what they considered the fashion of the day, and to open to themselves the ascent to high offices. The private and family life of such persons remained to a large extent pagan. Only in the course of many decades did the Christian principles really gain general control. About the year 400 A.D. there was still much immorality in Roman families. Great saints and great sinners often dwelt under the

same roof. It was similar with the rabble in the streets. For a long time the emperors did not venture to forbid the gladiatorial shows and other pagan excesses. The presence in the Christian body of members who retained pagan habits could not have a wholesome effect on those who wished to obey God's laws in every detail. But it should not be overlooked that under the new conditions, which after all were steadily improving, the number of those who reached a high degree of Christian perfection, or at least saved their souls, was infinitely larger than it could have been during the persecutions, and increased as the years and decades passed by.

378. Slavery, the great plague spot of Roman society, could not be abolished with one blow. But the Church constantly and urgently put before the minds of the masters the fact that the slave was their equal as a creature of God and was called to the same Heaven of happiness. She also recommended the liberation of slaves as a very meritorious act of charity. This tended to make the lot of the slave less unbearable. Together with other causes which, if left alone, would have been powerless, the Christian teaching led to a gradual disappearance of the abominable institution of slavery.

379. Arianism — The Council of Nicaea. — There had been heresies among the Christians even during the time of the persecutions. Gnosticism was a kind of disguised paganism; Manichaeism attempted in particular to introduce the old religion of the Persians (§ 72). After Constantine the Great had given liberty to the Church other erroneous teachings disturbed the ranks of the faithful. The worst and most powerful of them was *Arianism,* so called from *Arius,* a priest of Alexandria, who held that Jesus Christ is not God but only the noblest creature of God. In 325 A.D. a general Council was summoned to Nicaea in Asia Minor. Under the presidency of papal legates the assembled bishops solemnly condemned Arianism, and drew up a brief summary of Christian teaching, the Nicene Creed, which is still sung in our churches on Sundays and feast days. Constantine at first took steps against Arius. Later on he as well as his successors

protected and encouraged the heresy, while the Catholic faith was brilliantly defended by great writers and preachers. After half a century Arianism had disappeared from the Roman world.

Unfortunately Arian bishops had spread their heresy among most of the Teutonic tribes which lived on the other side of the lower Danube. When these afterwards forced their way into the Empire, they brought Arianism with them, a fact which greatly affected the shaping of later Europe.

380. The literature of this period is best treated here. It was entirely Christian. Paganism was worn out. The great minds of the age were occupied with defending Catholic doctrine and more and more bringing out its full meaning and hidden beauties. It was the era of the "Fathers of the Church." (*H. T. F.*, "Doctors of the Church.") It saw also the beginning of Church history and Christian poetry.

St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, widely renowned for his eloquence, was the most powerful champion against Arianism in the West, just as *St. Athanasius*, the Patriarch of Alexandria, was in the East. *St. Augustine*, born in northern Africa, the most prominent writer of the age, wrote, among other works, the *City of God*, a brilliant philosophy of history, to console the Christians in the disasters which followed the Migration of Nations (§§ 393 ff.). *St. Jerome*, who lived for many years as a hermit in a grotto at Bethlehem, translated the greater part of the Old Testament into Latin, and thus gave us the *Vulgate*, the official Bible of the Church. *St. John Chrysostom*, Patriarch of Constantinople, is considered the greatest pulpit orator of all times.

In the line of Church history we have the works of *Lactantius*, a professor of rhetoric; of *Eusebius*, Bishop of Nicomedia; and of *Socrates*, a lawyer at Constantinople. Poetical works, chiefly on Christian subjects, were produced by *St. Gregory* of Nazianz, *St. Hilary* of Tours, *Paulinus* of Bordeaux, *Ausonius* of Bordeaux, and *Sidonius* and *Avitus*, Gallic bishops.

381. The Church and Classical Literature. — All these men had received their training in the ancient schools of the Empire, which cultivated the study of the Greek and Latin classics. There was *no opposition, in principle*, against these schools and these works. Warnings were indeed heard, and they were well founded, not to make the pagan models the rule for one's conduct. But prudent teachers could eliminate this danger. It was felt as a very severe blow, when Julian the Apostate (§ 478) forbade the Christians either to study or to teach the classics.

CONCLUSION OF ANCIENT HISTORY

We have now reached the end of ancient history. Whatever there was of human civilization had drifted together in the Roman Empire. The true achievements of the most remote times and the triumphs of Greek culture and learning had become the property of the Mediterranean world. More than this, the religion of the future, Christianity, had obtained full recognition as the greatest factor in human affairs. The worship of the God "Who made heaven and earth" was restored to its purity, and was taking untrammeled possession of the hearts and actions of men.

The recognition of Christianity had come, as it were, in the nick of time. It had still a century or two to penetrate to a considerable degree the population of the great Roman Empire. New peoples were to force their way into Roman lands. They found Christianity and its institutions enthroned as a power to be reckoned with. Strange as it was, these children of the wilds, who waged fearless war against the mighty of the earth, bowed to the supernatural majesty of the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ. At the feet of Christian teachers they not only learned the way of eternal salvation but at the same time also the essentials of natural culture. Gradually the Church tamed their wild instincts and made their primitive political creations the banner-bearers of human civilization.

BOOK TWO

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

PART SIX: FROM THE ANCIENT ROMAN EMPIRE TO THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

(400 A.D. to 800 A.D.)

The Middle Ages are the time during which the religion of Jesus Christ became and remained the dominant faith of all the states of Europe. The old unity of the Roman Empire disappeared. New nations of a different stamp were to form the new states. They destroyed much of the civilization that existed. But the Church became their educator and taught them the very civilization they had done so much to eradicate. The old Roman Empire was to be replaced eventually by the Holy Roman Empire with less power but higher aims and purposes. This transition from the old to the new Empire will cover an epoch of four hundred years.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS

CONDITIONS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE ABOUT THE YEAR 400 A.D.

382. Decrease of the Population. — The three quarters of a century after Constantine the Great had been marked by a fair degree of outward prosperity. But the secret forces that were sapping the strength of society continued to be at work. Christianity, while increasing in numbers and interior vigor, had not yet had time enough to penetrate all the strata of the population, to create a new race with better habits, and to stop the inveterate immorality with its sad consequences. The numbers of inhabitants continued to decrease (§ 352).

383. Lack of Money. — Strange as it may seem, the output of the gold and silver mines was no longer what it had been before, and as a consequence the coinage of money could not be kept up. Besides, much money went abroad to pay for the luxuries imported from foreign countries, especially India. The rich, too, continued to have precious jewelry, statues, and other articles made, thus tying up the gold and silver that might have been used for money. Things became so bad that the emperors resorted to the desperate means of mixing baser metals with the gold and silver of the coins, a measure which naturally tended to demoralize commerce. In many ways society returned to barter. Even imperial officials had to accept part of their salaries in the shape of robes, horses, wheat, etc.

384. Taxes became crushing, partly because people found it more and more difficult to get the money for payment, partly because the number of taxpayers dwindled down with the population and partly on account of the creation of ever new offices in the government machinery. Perhaps the worst feature was that the richest men in the Empire had succeeded in being entirely or partly freed from taxes, so that the burden weighed all the more heavily upon the less rich and the poor. The writers of the period tell us that people actually fled across the boundary to the barbarians to escape the vexations of the tax collector. And yet though growing heavier to the citizens as time went on, taxation yielded less and less revenue. Taxes, too, in particular the heavy taxes on farming, were largely paid in kind. The grain served, among other things, to feed the rabble in the large cities, as Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria.

385. Agriculture, and the Lot of the Peasants. — Excepting some half-hearted measures, the government had given up making any attempt to preserve or restore the free peasant population in the Empire. In the course of time the small farms of free yeomen disappeared in the provinces, as they had at an earlier date in Italy, and became incorporated into latifundia (§ 259). Countless cultivators abandoned their

farms, because they saw they could not pay the taxes. The great landowners, too, found it increasingly difficult to have their enormous estates taken care of. Under these circumstances, the government made a more extensive use of an expedient often resorted to under previous reigns. After successful wars it surrendered barbarian captives in large numbers to the great landlords, not as slaves but as *serfs*. The serf received each his own diminutive farm for which he paid rent in produce, or labor, or money. As long as he fulfilled his duties, he could not legally be evicted from his lot. Serfdom is a sort of half-slavery. The result was that the free farmers found it still more difficult to make their living. They sank into serfdom, while, on the other hand, the slaves in many cases rose to that condition. In the end, practically all the tillers of the soil were serfs. Unfortunately the tax collector came upon the serfs also, and demanded a tax directly to the state, besides their dues to the lord of the land.

386. Lack of Interest in the Common Welfare. — The cities and towns groaned under the heavy weight of the taxes. The government had made the magistrates personally responsible for the taxes due by the whole town. These honorable offices, once eagerly coveted by the richer citizens, were now dreaded, and had to be imposed almost by force. At the same time the greed of the merchants had raised the prices of the most necessary things to fabulous heights, so that the poorer people found it extremely difficult to make ends meet. Hence civic pride, local patriotism, and the interest formerly taken by all in the welfare and greatness of the common town waned and were giving way to a deplorable apathy.

The same apathy took hold of wide circles concerning the welfare of the Empire at large. The people wanted the Empire, of course. They knew they could not exist without it. But was it not the emperor's concern to look after its interests and defend it with his troops? They themselves could do nothing. For several centuries the emperor had taken upon himself the

duty and the privilege to think of its needs and to find ways and means to remedy them. The people were forced, and were by this time accustomed, to leave that matter entirely in his hands. Meantime it became more and more difficult to fill the gaps in the legions, despite the admission of barbarians into the ranks.

387. Yet these conditions must not be exaggerated. The Empire remained the home of the best civilization that mankind had ever reached. Its cities, though slipping, harbored a highly refined society. The government, with diminishing efficiency, maintained law and order — the systematic enlargement of the network of roads was carried on even to a much later date — and the well-organized schools continued to promote knowledge of all kinds, especially the literary arts. And although architecture, sculpture, painting, and the higher branches of handicraft suffered from a decay in general taste and were inferior even in mechanical execution, yet at this time also notable works continued to be produced.

Moreover, it would be too much to say that the continuous decay fully explains the cessation of the Empire in the west. It helps to explain it to a very large degree. The character of the nations who brought it about is another cause. But even if all is duly considered, the fall of Rome's power remains one of the unsolved riddles of history.

THE NATIONS BEYOND THE FRONTIER

388. The Teutons. — As set forth in § 275, the first Germanic or Teutonic nations named in Roman history are the Cimbri and Teutones, who were defeated by Marius. An invasion of Ariovistus, King of the Suevi, was averted by Caesar (§ 291). Several other Germanic tribes have been mentioned in the course of the history of the emperors (§§ 374, 375). We saw how Augustus failed in his attempt to push the Roman frontiers beyond the Rhine. Some Germanic tribes tried to force their way into the Empire, but were beaten back.

From these few facts the student will have gathered that the Teutons were by no means one political unit. The number of the tribes into which they were divided was very large. They were often at war with one another, or allied with the Romans or some other power against their kinsmen of other tribes. But they had common qualities. Each tribe could understand the language of the others. The principal traits of their religion were common to all, and their social and political institutions were more or less the same. These tribes had been roaming for a long time in the countries north of the Danube and the Black Sea from the Rhine to the Caspian Sea, each settling for some time, twenty or more years, some as long as a century, in one place.

389. They possessed some primitive civilization. They dwelt in huts plainly constructed of wood and clay or the bark of trees. Agriculture, little encouraged by the climate, was left almost wholly to the women, the old men, and the slaves. A sort of commerce existed between them and the civilized nations in the south, with whom they exchanged amber and other products of the countries in which they lived for weapons and jewelry and household articles. For lack of suitable material, handicraft, with the exception perhaps of the armorer's trade, was little developed.

The Roman writer Tacitus highly praised their family life, and the reverence they had for women. The men dreaded the captivity of their wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters much more than their own captivity. In war they would come and show them their wounds, to receive their words of commendation, which they highly valued.

Their religion was a rude polytheism. They had no temples but worshiped their gods on hilltops, at springs, and in forests. Woden (Wotan) was their highest god, and from him the noble families claimed descent. Thor or Donar, whose hurling hammer caused thunder, was the god of storms; Freya, the goddess of joy and fruitfulness. The Germanic gods still live in our names for the days of the week. Woden's day, Thor's day, Freya's day, are easily recognized. Tuesday and Saturday take their names from two minor gods, Tiw and Saetere; the remaining two days are those of the sun and the moon.

390. Forms of Teutonic Government. — The members of a tribe lived scattered in several villages, each of which had its assembly and its chief. There was also a general assembly of

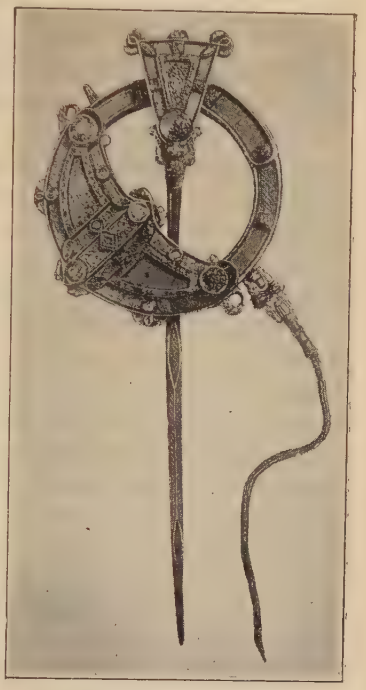
the whole tribe. Many tribes elected *kings* from the members of certain families. Other tribes had no such common head in peace time, but created *dukes* as leaders in war. The Teutons had taken over a peculiar institution from the Celts. *Powerful chiefs surrounded themselves with bands of companions* who lived in the chief's household, fought his battles, and were ready to give their lives for his safety. To desert him in danger or leave his body to the foe was a lifelong disgrace. The chief in turn was dishonored if he failed to do his utmost for the safety of his companions.

THE MONOGRAM PAGE OF THE BOOK OF KELLS

The Book of Kells is an Irish manuscript containing the four Gospels and some minor writings. It dates from about 700 A.D. It was long preserved in the cathedral of Kells, and is now in the library of Trinity College (Protestant), Dublin. "No words can describe the beauty and the extreme splendor of the richly colored initial letters" (*Catholic Encyclopedia*). This page shows the monogram of Christ (see illustration on page 235). The X appears above, three of its lines being elegantly curved, and the fourth lengthened downward. The P and an additional I are seen below. (Ornamentation of manuscripts and the goldsmith's art had reached a high perfection in Ireland.)

391. Non-Teutonic Races. — Though in the next chapter we have to deal with the Teutonic nations who left their homes and found other habitations, we may look ahead and state that a large part of the places abandoned by them were occupied by *Slavs*, the race to which belong the Bohemians, Poles, Slavonians and others. We

shall also have to mention the *Magyars* (Hungarians proper), who, though in color of skin and general build like the rest of present-day Europeans, speak a language which is akin to that of the Mongolians (Chinese and Japanese). These races found their dwelling places centuries later. But in immediate contact with the Germans in the far east, north of the Black Sea, there appeared the *Huns*, a fierce Mongolian race of horsemen, who by their attack upon the Goths started the Migration of Nations.



THE TARA BROOCH

It was probably made shortly before the tenth century. It is ornamented all over with amber, glass, and enamel, and with the characteristic Irish filigree or interlaced work in metal. "Perhaps the finest specimen of ancient metal work remaining in any country" (Joyce). What was done in ink in the manuscripts was done in metal on works like this.

The greater part of the *Celtic race* lived under Roman sway in northern Italy, Gaul, northern Spain, and the south of Britain. These Celts had become thoroughly Romanized, had given up their own languages and adopted that of Rome. The Gallo-Romans (in present France) possessed excellent schools, which by many were preferred to those in other countries. Historians are of opinion that the transmission of Roman civilization to the new nations was the special task of the Gallo-Romans. Two small Celtic nations, however, had remained outside the empire, namely, the inhabitants of Scotland and Ireland.

392. Ireland was ruled by native chieftains and kings, called "Righs," under an overking, styled "Ard-Righ," who resided at Tara. An elaborate system of laws, controlled by a professional class of jurists, the *brehons*, regulated all conditions and relations between high and low. Prose and poetry of all shapes, the drama alone excepted, were cultivated by professional writers. Education was cast into a very definite system which provided for a number of graded courses. Agriculture, especially cattle raising, was the main occupation. Foreign trade was not neglected. Life was exceedingly simple. All buildings, even the abodes of the chieftains, were of wood. But although Irish civilization lacked exterior brilliancy, the Irish were a really cultured nation. In 432 St. Patrick undertook their conversion. He obtained the consent of the Ard-Righ for his work. At his death, after a whole life of apostolic labors, of prayer and penance, Ireland was practically Christian. St. Patrick thoroughly Christianized both the Brehon Law and all social usages. The result was an intensely Christian nation, whose religious earnestness showed itself in the rise of numerous and well-peopled monasteries.

THE MIGRATION OF NATIONS

393. Character of the Migration of Nations. — In 400 A.D. or thereabouts began the victorious entry of the Teutonic nations into the Roman world. They defeated the Roman armies and set up their own kingdoms in the midst of the Roman population. Still they had no thought of uprooting the Empire as such. The mighty fabric with its wonderful methods of government, its imposing cities and majestic buildings stood too high in the opinion of these open-hearted children of nature. They had, moreover, made their own the conviction of the Romans that the Empire was an absolute necessity for the welfare of mankind and consequently neither should nor could be destroyed. The fiction prevailed that the Teutonic kings of the states founded on Roman soil had their power from the emperor, though in

practice they cared little for his supremacy. In opposition to the invaders the old population was referred to as "Romans," whether they were Italians, or Gauls, or Africans.

394. The Migrations of the Teutons. — In 375 the Huns (§ 397) crossed the Volga and attacked the East Goths who lived north of the Black Sea. These in turn forced the *West Goths* out of their seats. The latter, with their wives and children, fled southwest to the Danube, carrying their goods, as all the wandering nations did, in long trains of wooden carts. They petitioned the Emperor Valens at Constantinople to give them lands south of the river (§ 375). After they had been settled there the greed of imperial agents who were to furnish them food drove them into rebellion. They defeated and killed the Emperor and obtained better terms, but rose again after twenty years for the same reason. They now roamed for several years, plundering and devastating, through Greece, Dalmatia, Italy, and Gaul, settled on both sides of the Pyrenees, and founded the West Gothic kingdom, which included the south of Gaul and practically all Spain. The most important event during these wanderings was the *three days' sack of Rome*, in 410, the news of which struck the civilized world like a thunderbolt. The West Goths were Arians (§ 379). Only after their conversion to Catholicism, in 585 A.D., did they fuse with the "Roman" population.

The *Vandals*, after a long migration and a temporary stay in Spain, settled in North Africa. In the year 455 A.D. their warriors sailed over to Italy and inflicted upon the helpless capital of the world a *second plundering* much more frightful than the first. The Vandals ever remained Arians and fiercely persecuted the Catholic population. The *Burgundians* took possession of the Rhone valley. They were Arians, but eventually became Catholics.

The Teutonic kings forced from the emperor some Roman title, either military or governmental. By granting it the helpless emperor saved the appearance of his actual overlordship, and the kings acquired a claim

to the submission of the Roman population. The kings, however, acted as perfectly independent rulers. They " served " the emperor or fought against him and against one another as their own interest demanded.

395. Italy suffered most under these invasions. People after people broke into the unhappy peninsula, either to find their graves in it or to leave it again in quest of other dwelling places. Each inroad caused loss of life and devastation beyond description. The chieftain of one of these nations was Odoaker. In 476 Odoaker declared that the West needed no separate emperor any more. He deposed the young Romulus Augustulus, and sent the imperial robes to Constantinople. *Thus the Western Empire came to an inglorious end.*

Odoaker and his men were soon dislodged by the *East Goths* (Ostrogoths) under the brilliant King Theodoric the Great. They were and remained Arians.

396. Several German tribes did not leave their homes but extended their habitations at the expense of Roman territory. They were those living along the Rhine and the North Sea. The *Alemanni*, who dwelt in what is now South Germany, occupied land west of the Rhine. The *Franks*, on the lower Rhine, pushed into Belgium, where there was already a strong German population. We shall see how they enlarged their kingdom, and how their state became the most important of all the Teutonic realms founded on Roman soil. The *Saxons*, south of the North Sea, and the *Angles* and *Jutes* on the Danish peninsula did not give up their homes. But multitudes of them crossed over to Britain, dislodged in long struggles the Celtic inhabitants, and changed the greater part of the island into an Anglo-Saxon country. To the Anglo-Saxons, too, we must devote some extra pages (§§ 458–463).

397. Non-Teutonic Migrations. — After dislodging the East Goths, the *Huns*, a savage brood of genuine Mongolian hordes, roamed for some time in the countries north of the Danube. Under their fierce leader Attila, who called himself the " Scourge of God," they invaded northern Gaul with an innumerable host

THE MIGRATIONS
To 478
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600
GERMAN OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
BRITAIN
ESSEX
KENT
Jutes
Saxons
Angles
Lombard
Elbe
Sueves
R.
Rhine
Cologne
Seine
Chalons
Treves
Paris
Orleans
Loire R.
EMPIRE OF
Strassburg
GAUL
Danub
Rhone R.
The Alps
Aquileia
Toulouse
Pyrenees
Arles
Narbonne
Douro R.
SPAIN
Tagus
Barcelona
Fiesole
(Florence)
ROME
ADRIATI
MEDITER
Strait of Gades
Carthago Nova
CARTHAGE
L.L. POATES ENGR'G CO., N.Y.
Longitude West
Longitude

Finns
Volga
R.
Estians
Duna
R.
Sarmatians
Scythians
and Tartars
Dnieper
R.
Ostrogoths
Volga
R.
Alans
Don
R.
Utigurs
CASPIAN SEA
Crapak Mts.
Visigoths
HUNS
Caucasus Mts.
Pityus
VISIGOTHS
BLACK SEA
Danube
R.
ROMAN
OF THE EAST
Adrianople
Constantinople
EMPIRE
ASIA MINOR
SYRIA
EAN SEA
Alexandria
Nile
R.
EXPLANATION:
First Inroad of Huns
Second Inroad of Huns
Vandals
Visigoths
Ostrogoths, to 489
Franks
Jutes, Saxons, and Angles
30
40
50
from Greenwich

of forced allies. Fear of their devastations caused the western Teutons to unite with the Romans against them. At *Châlons-sur-Marne* the Huns were completely defeated, **451 A.D.** This battle is one of the most important in history, because it saved Christianity and civilization from being exterminated by Asiatic heathenism and barbarity. In 452 Attila turned against Italy with the intention of reducing Rome. The Pope, St. Leo the Great, met him with no other power than his dignity; and the terrible king, overawed by the pontiff's appearance and words, withdrew to the lands on the middle Danube, where he soon died. The Huns returned into Asia.

Those regions north of the Danube which had been evacuated by the Germans were now occupied by the *Slavs* as far as the Elbe River. The formation, at a much later date, of the Slav states of *Russia*, *Poland*, and *Bohemia* was thus prepared. Other Slavs found their way across the Danube, where there are now the *Serbians*, *Croatians*, *Bosnians*, and *Slavonians*. The *Bulgarians*, a race chiefly Turanian with a Slav language, repeatedly threatened the capital of the Eastern Empire, Constantinople.

398. The New Teutonic Kingdoms. — By 500 A.D. the whole of the Western Empire was occupied by the Teutons. The Franks had their kingdom in Gaul; the West Goths chiefly in Spain; the Vandals in Africa. In Britain the Anglo-Saxons were building up their seven kingdoms. Italy was held by the East Goths and enjoyed a period of peace under the rule of Theodoric the Great.

The Teutons had settled among the old Roman population, which in most countries was forced to give up one third of its landed estates. The Teutons, who became the ruling class, consisted of large and small landowners. They were not evenly distributed. In the countries on the left bank of the Rhine the population was practically Teutonic. The Teuton king ruled over both parts of the inhabitants. The Romans saw in him a representative of the emperor, and the king was careful

to keep up this fiction. Clovis, King of the Franks, for instance, procured an imperial decree proclaiming him "patrician" of Gaul, and he made it a point to appear at stated occasions in Roman consular robes. The Arian religion of several German tribes proved a great obstacle to that mutual understanding between them and the Catholic Romans on which the welfare and the future of the kingdoms depended.

CHILDERIC I, FATHER OF CLOVIS

He is represented, in this picture from a fourteenth-century manuscript, as dictating the Salic Law; but that Frankish law book is probably of later origin. Note the peculiar dress of most of the figures, including the king, who is distinguished by long, flowing hair. See *H. T. F.*, under "Salic Law."

The political fabric of these kingdoms was very rude. In the beginning they retained the primitive institutions of the Teutons (§ 390). Centuries passed before, under the influence of Roman law, they rose to a stage less barbaric. But they had in them the germs of greater things. *In later ages all human progress has come almost wholly from western Romano-Teutonic Europe.*

CIVILIZATION AND CHRISTIANITY

399. Losses to Civilization. — The Migration of Nations was the most terrible catastrophe that ever befell a great civilized society. Many of the most flourishing cities were destroyed, or had greatly suffered by sackings. The treasures of art, including

After 507 the Kingdom of the West Goths in G

d to a small southern strip (Septimania)

libraries, were dispersed or lost. The direct loss of life caused by battles and other war operations was great enough. The countless devastations, which hindered the regular tilling of the soil and deranged the traffic in foodstuffs, further decimated the dwindling population. Whole country districts were deserted, to be inhabited only by wolves and bears.

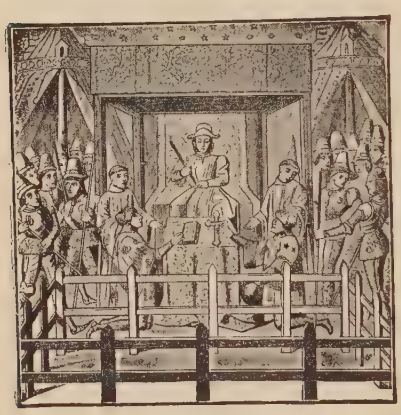
The new ruling class brought with them their dense ignorance. Illiteracy was beyond doubt the rule with the new lords. The old schools perished for lack of material support. There was no tranquil leisure and therefore no study. The traditions of refined and literary life were fast disappearing. Those who outlived the ravages by and by sank to a lower level. Life became meaner, poorer, harder. Civilized tastes and arts began to fall into oblivion. Franks and Goths were learning the rudiments of civilized life; the Latins were losing all but the rudiments — and they seemed to lose faster than the Teutons were gaining.

400. Teutonic Method of Criminal Trials. — The Roman courts endeavored to find out by means of evidence whether the accused man had committed the crime with which he was charged. The Roman inhabitants of the Germanic kingdoms continued to be judged by this Roman law. (Law had become personal, that is, it was different for a Goth, a Frank, and a Roman.) The Germans had another method. There were two kinds of trial:

By Compurgation. — The accused and the accuser swore solemnly to their statements. Each was backed by *compurgators* (not witnesses), that is, men who swore they believed that their man was telling the truth. The number of compurgators varied according to the crime, the station of the compurgators themselves, and that of the person accused. According to one code three compurgators could free a man accused of murdering a serf; it took eleven if the murdered man was a noble.

By Ordeal. — The ordeal was based on the erroneous assumption that God would rather work an evident miracle than allow

an innocent man to be punished. To clear himself of a charge, the accused would, for instance, offer to plunge his arm into boiling water, or carry red-hot iron a certain distance, or walk over glowing plowshares. If his flesh was found uninjured when examined some days later, or if the wound was healing in a natural manner, he was declared not guilty. The idea had struck so deep in the popular mind, that the Church, though never approving of it, took it into her own hands. To prevent violence and fraud, she surrounded the proceedings with impressive sacred ceremonies. It required several centuries to do away finally with the barbarous custom.[1]



JUDICIAL COMBAT

Religious preparations: each part is making oath on Bible and Cross to the justice of the cause. From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

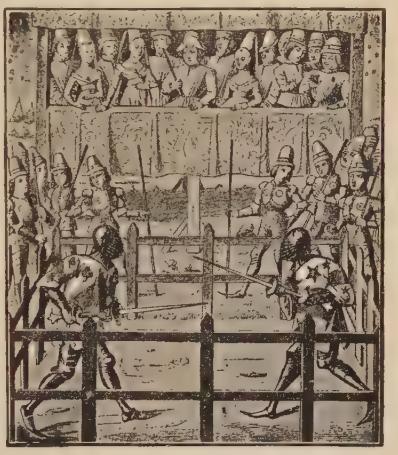
The nobles preferred the ordeal of the single combat, supposing that God would assist the arms of the innocent party. A relic of this ordeal is the duel, which happily is becoming rarer in our times. The Church inflicts the severest ecclesiastical penalties on duelists.

Penalties for crimes, too, were different. Offenses were atoned for by money payments. Practically all crimes had a money penalty, varying from a small amount for cutting off the joint of the little finger to the *wer-geld* or payment for a man's life. The wer-geld varied with the rank of the victim.

401. What became of the Latin language? There had always been differences in the way Latin was spoken in the

[1] Such tests were sometimes made by deputy; hence our phrase, "to go through fire and water" for a friend. See *D. R.*, II, Nos. 138, 139 (the latter on "ordeals").

several provinces of the Empire. When the unity of the Empire was gone and the schools ruined, the old Latin assumed more and more distinct characters in the various regions. In the course of several centuries each province developed its own speech. Thus gradually arose the languages which we now call French, Spanish, and Italian. In the districts near the left bank of the Rhine the German language completely dislodged whatever there had been of Latin. But Latin remained in use among the clergy of all countries, though at times many even of these knew it imperfectly.



JUDICIAL COMBAT

A companion piece to the foregoing illustration. Note the enclosure called the "lists," and the armorial bearings on the armor of each of the combatants. Armor and dress as represented here, however, are of a later date.

402. Roman civilization was not uprooted entirely. The conquests were for the most part made by numbers too small to change the character of the population, and unable to dislodge all the traditions of the former refined life. Many of the newcomers, too, though semibarbarians, were open-minded enough to recognize the cultural superiority of the Romans. In this way the Teutons in Gaul were slowly civilized by the Gallo-Roman population, which thus indirectly became the link between the old and the new civilization. Moreover, the kings and other Teutonic lords drew their confidential advisers preferably from the educated classes of the Romans, especially the bishops and the clergy. By these they with their retainers were made acquainted with the tastes and customs of civilized life, and

with better methods of government. Finally since the invaders settled chiefly in the country, the cities and towns as far as they survived preserved some features of the old culture and the old handicrafts. They continued governing themselves, even with more liberty after the imperial oppressions had ceased, and so prepared the flourishing town and city life of the later Middle Ages. Through these different agencies much of the old civilization, which at the time seemed ruined, was sooner or later recovered in the Teutonic kingdoms, so that "nearly every achievement of the Greeks and Romans in thought, science, law, and the practical arts is now a part of our civilization."

403. It was above all the Church that saved civilization and reared the new peoples of Europe. By the time that the German invaders began to pour into the Roman Empire, all its provinces were practically Christianized. There was everywhere a well-established hierarchy. Bishops watched over the spiritual welfare of the faithful, without neglecting temporal interests. True, the settling of the rude barbarians among the Christians, the concomitant weakening of public order and safety, the loss of life and the decline of material as well as intellectual civilization had a deplorable effect on morals and discipline. In Gaul, with which we are particularly concerned, the Teutonic kings, though Catholic, often led almost pagan lives. The conversion of the newcomers proceeded slowly, nor must it be imagined that the newly converted Teutons and their first descendants were at once, and without exception, exemplary Christians. This reacted on the old population. Many of the clergy, some even among the hierarchy, sorely lacked the purity of morals and singleness of purpose required by their exalted vocation.

All this notwithstanding, the Church was the salt that kept the world from complete corruption, and preserved the means for it to rise again to a higher level of civilization. The Church always demanded a certain degree of education in her ministers

and provided for some kind of schools. Even in the most troubled periods there were priests, monks, bishops, and lay persons of both sexes who were more than ordinarily inspired with zeal for true virtue and righteousness in themselves and their fellow men. The Church protected the weak and stood for peace, education, industry, and right living. "She was the chief force that made life tolerable for myriads of men and women in those dark ages." She also preserved many of the forms and habits of the Roman law and by her advice and example improved the rude methods of the new rulers. "Only to the strenuous exertions of Christians and the spiritual impulse maintained among mankind by the new religion do we owe it that these ages found any pleasure in the classics of antiquity and did not allow them to be irrevocably lost."

404. The Papacy. — No Christian institution exerted a more powerful influence for good than the papacy. The popes ever kept their eye on the needs of the world at large. It was they who sent out the great missionaries to the new nations. The most prominent pope of this period of storm and stress is no doubt St. Gregory the Great, who presided over the welfare of the Church 590–604. He had the consolation of welcoming into the true fold the Arian nations of the West Goths and the Lombards, and he sent St. Augustine with his monks to convert the Anglo-Saxons from paganism.

405. Irish Influence. — The destructive waves of the Migration of Nations did not reach Ireland, where with Christianity the Latin and Greek classics had found a home and countless enthusiastic devotees in the old and new schools. Thus the far-off island helped to perpetuate Christian and Roman civilization. Irish monks began to emigrate to the continent, where they settled among the new nations, and by their example and preaching promoted both the purity of Christian morals and love of classical scholarship. St. Columba (Columbkille) became the Apostle of Scotland, where he established the great island monastery of *Iona* as a center and headquarters of missionary

labors. St. Columbanus founded monasteries in and near the Alps among the Franks and Burgundians, and with his disciples gave a new impetus to the Christianization of the Alemanni. Meanwhile the renown of the schools in Ireland was so great that eager students flocked to it from other countries. In the stormy period of the Migration of Nations Ireland was like a university for Europe.

MONASTICISM

406. Origin of Monasticism. — There have never been wanting in the Church those who desired to accept the invitation addressed by Christ to the rich young man: "If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all thou hast and give it to the poor, and come, follow me" (Matt. XIX, 21). But the conditions of the first centuries did not permit the establishment of convents and other religious houses as we know them now. In the third century many Christians of both sexes withdrew into deserts and forests, where in solitary huts or caves they lived exclusively for God and the welfare of their souls. St. Paul of Egypt is considered the first to have chosen this life of the *hermits*. But many preferred to dwell *in communities* where they could have the advantage of mutual encouragement and the guidance of a superior. St. Anthony of Egypt began this kind of religious life.

407. Spread of Monasticism. — Both modes of religious life spread rapidly from Egypt, where they were extensively practiced, over the Orient. St. Basil the Great later on became the lawgiver for the *monasteries* — this was the name given to these institutions — of the whole East. By the end of the fourth century monasteries of *monks* and *nuns*, that is, men and women living in such religious communities, existed also in all parts of Christian Europe. In the first half of the sixth century **St. Benedict** (died 543), an Italian, wrote his famous "Benedictine Rule," noted for practical wisdom and moderation. In the course of several centuries this rule was adopted by all the existing convents (monasteries) of western Europe. Each

house, called an "abbey," was ruled by an abbot or abbess. The abbeys had, however, no common general superior, the unity of the order being kept up solely by the observance of the same regulations.

408. The inmates of the monasteries lived a life of perpetual poverty, chastity, and obedience. Self-sanctification was their chief object and the source from which sprang all their achievements in the promotion of civilization and Christianity. Hence a great part of their time was given to exercises of piety and penance. They would settle in some uncultivated spot, and by the work of their hands change it into well-tilled fields and gardens. By word and example they taught the dignity of manual labor, encouraged agriculture, and often showed the dwellers-around better methods for working their fields. They also protected the poor against the rich and powerful, because commonly the rude invaders respected the peaceful and helpless inhabitants of the cloister. Then, too, the monks lovingly copied books, both spiritual and profane (page 2). It was they that preserved the treasures of the classical literature of Rome and Greece. For centuries the convents were the almshouses, inns, hospitals, and schools of Christendom.

ABBEY OF CITEAUX, FRANCE

Abbeys were supposed to be self-supporting. They were surrounded by fields, meadows, orchards, and gardens. Besides the lodgings for the monks the buildings provided workshops, barns, stables, and everything required for a large agricultural establishment. The abbey church was always the most prominent structure.

The life of the nuns was similar. Exercises of piety, manual labor in their gardens, the instruction of girls in their schools, the copying of books, and needlework for the benefit of the poor

and the service of the altar were their occupations. Frequently they provided, by their own labor and by collecting alms, for the necessities of the missionaries in far-off countries.

409. The monks for the most part were laymen. Priestly ministrations were not the original and never the sole purpose of the monasteries of those days. Still, not only did the monks and nuns preach a most powerful sermon by their example, but the results of the activity of their missionaries are almost incredible (see §§ 405, 426). From the earliest period men and women prominent for rank and wealth entered the convents to spend their lives in piety, humility, and penance.

410. Religious poverty is not pauperism. It consists essentially in this, that the individual depends upon the permission of his superior for the use of all things. Actual want or misery, often experienced by the first members of monastic institutions, would in the long run rather have a detrimental effect upon the observance of religious discipline. In those times it was understood that the property held by each institution should at least enable the members to support themselves frugally by their own labor. Many abbeys, however, grew very rich, chiefly because their labor had increased the value of their once barren lands. This did not constitute a real danger to discipline as long as the monastic regulations were well observed. It was different when men who were not imbued with the right spirit obtained the position of abbots. Such persons, mostly intruded by secular interference, administered the property for their own benefit, and cared nothing for the enforcement of the rules. Yet, it is granted by all historians that in spite of the cases of corruption which at times took hold of these abodes of sanctity the monks and nuns have rendered inestimable services to mankind, and that our present civilization is largely based upon the fruits of their pious and persevering labor.

THE EASTERN EMPIRE

411. The Eastern Empire, too, suffered from the invasions. Several of its northern provinces, next to the Danube, were lost, but its capital, Constantinople, was never conquered. The provinces bordering on the Aegean Sea and those in Asia remained practically unmolested. Though they continued to suffer from the general decay referred to before (§ 382 ff.) they largely retained their ancient culture, the inheritance of centuries

of refinement, elevated by the influence of Christianity. Constantinople above all was the home of civilization. It was the most splendid city in the world. It possessed beautiful parks, and its well-paved streets were lighted by night. Its brilliant churches and imperial palaces were the marvel of the universe. Hospitals and orphan asylums took care of the poor. It was also the center of trade and manufacture. Its silks, jewelry, glazed pottery, weapons, and mosaics found their way into foreign lands, including the now semi-cultured West. The population numbered about a million. Unfortunately the despotism of its rulers had left little to the initiative of the citizens. It had lessened and was still lessening more and more the interest which private citizens should take in the general welfare, and their ability to realize and meet common dangers. Worse than this, the constant interference of the emperors in Church affairs, even in matters of doctrine, and the fact that the appointment of all the bishops had been usurped by a secular authority, which was often prompted by merely political reasons, tended to reduce the Church, the mightiest factor in civilization, into slavish subjection and unproductive stagnancy.

The Empire had, however, several strong emperors and one excellent empress, St. Pulcheria. We must especially mention *Justinian I*, called the Great, whose reign lasted nearly forty years, from 527 to 565. His chief work was the codification of the Roman law and successful wars against Teutonic states in the West.

412. Codification of Roman Law. — The Roman laws regulating the relation of citizens to the government and to one another were not the work of one man. They had been issued by and by, in the course of several centuries, just as they were needed. Several emperors had had them "codified," that is, they had them gathered in one "code" or law book, putting together all those laws which were bearing on one subject. Justinian set a committee of learned men to codifying them anew. The "Code of Justinian" thus produced was wonderfully compre-

hensive, clear, and orderly, so much so that later centuries found little to improve on it. When the Teutonic kingdoms began to codify their own unwritten laws, the Roman law furnished the foundation, and many of its enactments passed over into the laws of the new states. Without the knowledge of this code none, perhaps, of our modern codes can be fully understood, the most independent being those of England and the United States.

This excellent system of laws is not, however, without serious shortcomings. It does not sufficiently recognize the value and dignity of labor. Moreover, it makes the emperor the sole source of all rights, and thus tends to increase the power of the princes unduly. The excesses of some individual rulers of the Middle Ages are directly traceable to the unreserved adoption of Justinian's principles.

Justinian was not an efficient financial administrator. Taxes rose to an enormous height, and yet his treasury was always empty. His absolute and arbitrary power extended to Church matters also. He meddled in purely dogmatical questions, and still more in the discipline of the Church, and kept Pope Vigilius for six years imprisoned in Constantinople.

413. Justinian's Wars against the Teutons. — When Justinian came to the throne, the Vandals had their kingdom in northern Africa, and the East Goths controlled all Italy. The great general Belisarius defeated the Vandals and made northern Africa again an imperial province, which was ruled by a governor called "exarch." Then Belisarius and Narses, in a twenty years' war, drove the East Goths out of Italy, and that country, too, became a Roman province, the exarch residing in Ravenna. But in 568, three years after Justinian's death, the *Lombards*, a Teutonic nation, half pagan, half Arian, swarmed into the peninsula, and conquered it with the exception of the southern part and a little district in the center with the capitals of Ravenna and Rome. Thus Italy was divided between the newcomers and the Empire. That little section in the center,

however, was destined to play an important part in the history of the Christian world.

This inroad of the Lombards into Italy, in 568, is the last of the great migrations of the Teutons, which had begun in 375 with the admission of the Visigoths into the Empire (§ 394). Franks, Lombards, Visigoths, and Anglo-Saxons had divided among them the soil of what was formerly Roman Europe.

However, the idea of the Roman Empire as the one universal government of the world (§ 371) *continued in the minds of men until, after three hundred years, this Empire was revived in the West by the imperial coronation of Charlemagne.*

RISE OF THE FRANKS

414. King Clovis. — We have seen how the Franks, a confederacy of German tribes living on the banks of the lower Rhine, extended their habitations into Gaul (§ 396) and united that entire country together with a wide territory on the right bank of the upper Rhine into one kingdom. This was chiefly the work of one man, King Clovis (Chlodwig, Ludwig, Louis, Aloysius), of the family called *Merowingians* from the name of their ancestor Merowig. King Clovis was the founder of Frankish greatness. When at the age of fifteen years he entered upon his career of aggrandizement, he was still a pagan and a real barbarian, though not without some noble traits of character and a shrewd mind. He had inherited from his father a leaning toward Christianity. His wife, St. Clotilda, a Burgundian princess, was a devout Catholic. The decisive battle against the Alemanni, in 496 A.D., which tradition places at Zülpich, became the occasion of his conversion. In the crisis of the battle, Clovis vowed to serve the God of Clotilda if he gained the victory. His prayer being granted, the king and three thousand of his warriors were baptized.

415. The baptism of the Frankish king was a momentous event. By it that nation which was to play the most important part in the political history of the future entered into a union

with the Church, the champion of true righteousness and civilization. It brought to Clovis the good will and confidence of the Catholic population of Gaul and the hearty support of the Church authorities, including the papacy. While the rule of Arian kings was hated, the Frankish kingdom enjoyed the blessings of perfect religious unity. Nor did Clovis neglect to reconcile the political feelings of the Celto-Roman population (§ 391).

416. Clovis meant to rule as a Christian king. He placed the Celto-Roman population on the same footing as his Franks, and left the bishops undisturbed in the execution of their office. He ever preserved an unswerving devotion to the saintly Clotilda, whose example and encouragement he followed in the practice of a far-reaching charity toward the unfortunate and great liberality toward ecclesiastical institutions. At the same time, however, acts of violence and cruel revenge and the charge of broken pledges disfigure the records of his political career. The nation, like the rulers, did not at once become thoroughly Christianized. Only gradually did the Church succeed in taming its wild passions.

417. The Frankish Kingdom. — Before his conversion Clovis conquered a territory in the northwest of Gaul which till then had remained under the sway of a Roman governor. He now drove the Arian Visigoths out of the southwest of Gaul, and was received as a deliverer by the Catholic population. His sons completed the conquest of Burgundy. They added to their realm Bavaria and Thuringia, two districts well beyond the ancient Roman world. The Franks themselves spread little south of the Loire River. The north and the south remained noticeably distinct from each other in blood and language. Politically, too, the kingdom was repeatedly divided and reunited. The unity of the Frankish rule was preserved by the coöperation of the kings in foreign relations, by the identity of law and custom in governing, and last but not least, by the bond of a common religion and hierarchy. In fact, historians agree that *union with the Church was the strongest prop of the Frankish kingdom.*

THE
FRANKISH KINGDOM
DURING THE TIME OF
THE MEROWINGIAN KINGS
With surrounding Kingdoms and Nations
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 150 200 250 300
IRELAND
ANGLO-SAXONS
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
FRISIANS
SLAVIC NATIONS
SAXONS
THURINGIA
BOHEMIA
AUSTRASIA
NEUSTRIA
ALEMANNIA
BAVARIA
AVARS
AQUITAINE
BURGUNDY
LOMBARDS
SOUTH SLAVS
EASTERN EMPIRE
VISIGOTHS
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
London
Heristal
Aachen
Cologne
Fulda
Zulpich
Mainz
Soissons
Paris
Chalons
Orleans
Tours
Poitiers
Augsburg
St. Gall
Salzburg
Lyon
Pavia
Milan
Venice
Ravenna
Toulouse
Rome
Rhine R.
Weser R.
Elbe R.
Oder R.
Vistula R.
Meuse R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Garonne R.
Ebro R.
Rhone R.
Po R.
Tiber R.
Danube R.
0 Longitude 5 East from 10 Greenwich 15 20
50
45

418. The Mayors of the Palace. — Many of the later Merowingian kings were weak and indolent, and allowed the real power to slip from them into the hands of the mayors of the palace. These officials were originally the chiefs of the royal household, but the very nature of their position and the incapacity of the kings enabled them to seize, one by one, all the powers of government. They finally became the actual rulers and even made their office hereditary. The last of the Merowingians, called the *Do-nothings*, were merely the nominal heads of the state. Once a year, however, they issued from their retirement, and with the rude pomp of their ancestors were driven on an ox-cart in stately procession to the popular assembly, the Mayfield (§ 439).

The greatest of the mayors of the palace was *Pippin of Heristal*, who succeeded in reuniting almost the whole Frankish kingdom under his sway, thereby securing the ascendancy of the Teutonic element. His son, *Charles Martel* (the Hammer), is more famous still. He firmly established his power throughout the entire realm and made *the Frankish kingdom the most powerful state in western Europe.*

CHAPTER XXX

THE MOHAMMEDAN PERIL

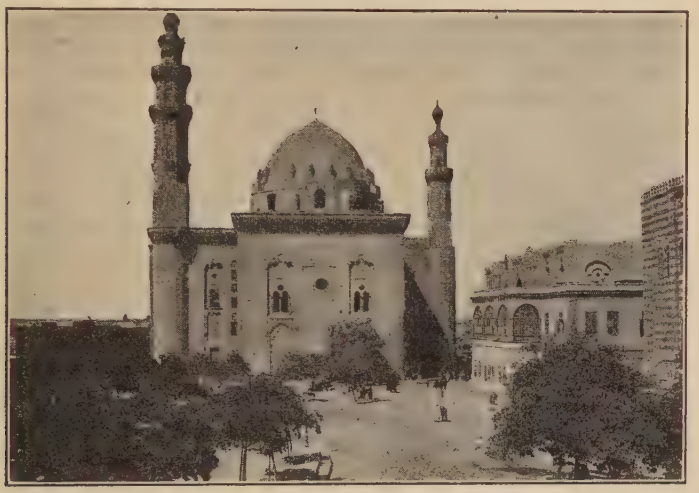
We have seen the foreign nations enter the Roman Empire and become its owners and rulers. These tribes submitted to the sway of the Christian religion. Another nation rose outside of the boundaries of the old Roman world, a nation with a new creed, which threatened destruction to both the culture and the religion of Christian Europe.

MOHAMMED AND MOHAMMEDANISM

419. Mohammed. — About a century after Clovis built up the empire of the Franks, a mighty power arose in far-off Arabia — a region until then beyond the pale of history. Arabia is mainly a desert, with occasional small oases, and some strips of tillable soil near the Red Sea. The best tribes of the *Arabs* or *Saracens* are related to the Jews and Assyrians. Some noble traits in their character notwithstanding, they were given to a low kind of idolatry which was connected with hideous excesses. The few cities near the Red Sea, on the road between India and Europe, practiced arts and carried on commerce. The rest of the Arabs were wandering shepherds — poor and ignorant, dwelling in black camel's-hair tents, living from their sheep and by robbing their neighbors.

Mecca, the most important of the cities, was the birthplace of Mohammed, the man destined to make Arabia for centuries a world power. He is described as of a retiring disposition and religious inclinations and subject to epileptic fits. Until forty he led the life of an influential merchant, but withdrew every year for some time into the desert, where he devoted himself to pious meditations. On his business tours he had picked up

bits of information concerning Christianity and Judaism. Finally he claimed to have had an apparition of the Archangel Gabriel, who, he said, announced to him that *he, Mohammed, was the great prophet foretold by Moses.* This was the beginning of the new religion, which he worked out further in the course of his life. For almost every phase and feature of it he claimed a special revelation.



Mosque of Hassan at Kairo, Egypt

The cupola is characteristic of these Mohammedan temples. From the slender towers, called "minarets," the faithful are summoned to prayer by the voice of a "muezzin." (The Mohammedans hate bells.)

420. Mohammedanism. — In comparison with the confusion and degradation of the Arabic religions, Mohammed's system represented a partial progress. The chief article of his creed is that "there is One God, 'Allah,' and Mohammed is His Prophet." The service of Allah is *Islam*, and those that profess it call themselves *Moslem*. They deny the Blessed Trinity, and hold that Moses and Christ were minor prophets sent to prepare the world for the coming of Mohammed. Prayer five times a day, a pilgrimage to Mecca once during lifetime, fasting during the entire month Ramadan, and almsgiving are enjoined. Faithful Mohammedans rigidly submit to these laws. But strangely

in contrast with this emphasis on good works is their "fatalism," the doctrine that nobody can change the fate once destined for him or for anything else. The true Moslem will go to a heaven of sensual pleasures. There is a terrible hell for the bad. Polygamy is allowed; the husband may divorce his wives for almost any reason, but a wife cannot leave her husband. The prophet himself, after the death of his first wife, married several. A sure way to paradise is war against the "infidels" (non-Mohammedans); "the sword is the key to heaven." Friday is the sacred day. Mohammed's teachings were collected, by his first successor, in a book called the *Koran*, the Mohammedan Bible. It is divided into 114 *suras*, or chapters, without any system or connection. Its numerous contradictions are one of the causes of the rise of many sects in Mohammedanism.

MOHAMMEDAN CONQUESTS

421. Rapid Expansion. — Mohammed's closest intimates accepted him at once, but for the first twelve years he had few other converts. His townsfolk at Mecca jeered at his pretensions. The priests of the old religion roused the people against him, and at last drove him out of the city. His flight from Mecca to Medina, in 622, is called the *Hegira*. It is the point from which the Mohammedan world reckons the years, as does Christendom from the birth of Christ. (*H. T. F.* under "Era.") Mohammed now made converts rapidly by means of the sword and soon captured Mecca, which became the sacred city of the faith. His fierce warriors were almost irresistible. He himself was unscrupulous in the selection of means, so long as they served his ends. By the time of his death he ruled over all Arabia as Prophet and King, supreme in all matters, civil, military, and religious. This character descended to his successors, the **caliphs**. At the head of united Arabia, the caliphs began a career of conquest. They took Jerusalem, 638 A.D., and tore Palestine and Syria from the weak Eastern Empire. They destroyed the Persian kingdom, subjected Egypt, and by 700 A.D. their dominion extended from the Caucasus through Northern Africa to the Atlantic Ocean. Thus Europe was threatened from east and west.

The conquest of Christian territory did not mean that the entire population was at once forced to apostatize. Christians, however, who remained faithful to their religion had to pay an extra tribute and, as a matter of fact, were very frequently subjected to vexations and even cruel persecutions.

422. Two Great Repulses — In the East. — In 717 the Mohammedans appeared with a numerous force before Constantinople. The Emperor, Leo III, called the Isaurian, was a thorough-going Byzantine, imbued with the spirit of meddling with matters of ecclesiastical doctrine and discipline, and without any respect for the consciences and pockets of his subjects. But he was an energetic and able general. After a siege of twelve months the Mohammedans were forced to retire after immense losses, 718 A.D. *This formidable menace to Christianity and Europe wore itself away on the walls of the city of Constantine.*

In the West. — At nearly the same time the Arabs entered Spain and were soon masters of the West-Gothic kingdom (§ 394), which at this critical moment was torn by domestic dissensions. Only a few remote fastnesses in the north of the peninsula remained in the hands of valiant Christian defenders. Then crossing the Pyrenees, the Mohammedan flood spread over Gaul, even to the Loire. Now indeed it seemed " that the Crescent was about to round to the full." But there was the powerful Frankish state under its able ruler, Charles Martel. The danger served to reunite it completely. The Duke of Aquitaine, who had long led a revolt against Frankish supremacy, threw himself upon Charles' generosity and fled to him for aid. Under Charles' leadership the Christian army met the foe, in 732 A.D., near *Tours*. From dawn to dark raged the fight. During the night the surviving Arabs stole in silent flight from their camp. *Christianity and European civilization were again saved.*

The repulses at Constantinople and Tours rank with Marathon, Salamis, Actium, and Châlons in the long struggle between Asia and Europe (§§ 119, 127, 305, 397). In point of high significance, however, the parallel with Châlons is the most

complete. Tours and Constantinople, no less signally than Châlons, saved Christianity, the only true religion — the soul of the European civilization that was to be.

423. Mohammedanism after the Repulses. — For more than seven centuries Europe was safe. Mohammedanism soon split into two empires more or less hostile to each other. The caliph of the East built, for his capital, Bagdad on the Tigris, which soon became one of the richest cities of the world. The Caliphate of the West consisted chiefly of the Spanish peninsula with Cordova as capital.

424. Mohammedan Civilization. — Both capitals became centers of art and literature. In sculpture the Mohammedans did not accomplish much, because the Koran strictly prohibits any picture or statue. Their ornamentation consists chiefly of *arabesques*, *i.e.*, fancifully interlaced lines, curved and straight. Many of their buildings are imposing. Famous are the Alhambra of Granada, and the former mosque, now cathedral, of Cordova, a vast building of nineteen naves.

Their literature is less important. Its most noted production is a collection of stories, the *Thousand and One Nights*. In spite of the prohibition of the Koran they studied the Greek philosophers, which Christian Syrians had translated into Arabic. It is in the Arabic translation that the books of Aristotle first became known to western Europe. (See § 620 and *Ancient World*, § 316.) But the original works of the Arabian philosophers are of little value. They transmitted to us our Arabic numbers and the science of algebra, which they had received from India. The same country furnished to them a better system of medicine, which they improved by introducing the experimental method. They studied and in some points improved the mathematical and astronomical works of the Greeks. Many of the technical terms referring to these sciences are Arabic.

Still, the genius of the Arabic nation is, on the whole, not creative. In later times political leadership fell to races still less capable of civilization, like the Turks. Fatalism, slavery, and the degradation of woman by polygamy and its consequences were other obstacles to genuine progress. Mohammedan culture, despotic, uniform, stagnant, was sure to be outrun by the rude but progressive civilization of western Europe.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE ALLIANCE OF THE PAPACY AND THE FRANKS

By the conversion of Clovis to the Catholic religion, the Franks entered into a close union with the Church (§ 415). This union was to become an official alliance by the coronation of a Frankish king as Roman Emperor. Several steps led up to this goal. The brilliant defense of western Christianity against the forces of Islam may be considered as one such step. Two more were to follow, namely, the accession of a new line of kings, and the establishment of the Papal States.

THE NEW FRANKISH DYNASTY

425. Death of Charles Martel. — Shortly after the victory at Tours the Do-nothing king died. Charles Martel did not venture to take the title of king, but neither did he place any Merowingian on the throne. With the consent of the nobles he divided the dignity of mayor of the palace between his two sons, Karlman and Pippin "the Short." But these, feeling less secure than their victorious father, again raised a Merowingian king, Childeric III, and ruled in his name. Karlman, however, soon retired into a monastery, as indeed many princes of that and later ages have done. *Pippin the Short* was thus left sole Mayor of the entire kingdom.

426. The Work of St. Boniface. — It was during the time of Charles Martel, Karlman, and Pippin, and with their hearty support, that St. Boniface (the name was given him by the Pope, and means Benefactor), the Anglo-Saxon monk, began and finished the *systematic* conversion of the eastern part of the Frankish kingdom, which was later on to develop into modern Germany.

Christianity had been planted in many localities of those provinces, notably in the districts near the Alps, by zealous Irishmen and Franks. There were, however, no bishops to provide priests for vacant stations

and combat corruption, ignorance, and heresies. Wide regions, moreover, had never heard the voice of the missionary. St. Boniface under incredible hardships converted the numerous heathens. In constant intercourse with Rome by visits and letters, he established bishoprics with himself as archbishop. This made him the apostle of Germany. As papal legate for all the countries north of the Alps he also undertook, chiefly by a long series of councils, a reformation of the Frankish Church in morals, discipline, and doctrine. Charles Martel and much more Karlman and Pippin gave him their powerful protection.

During the seventh century the intercourse between Rome and the Frankish kingdom had been reduced to a minimum. St. Boniface now for nearly forty years referred everything of moment to Rome, conducted his affairs according to instructions from Rome, and emphasized in all his transactions with rulers and nobles the absolute necessity of keeping in close touch with the center of Christian unity. This brought about a complete change. The whole kingdom recognized most vividly the position and power of the Successor of St. Peter, the common Father of Christendom.

427. Accession of the Carolingians. — Pippin the Short meanwhile thought of setting aside the nominal king and assuming the royal dignity himself. Such a step would enable him to rule with greater power and efficiency. Nor was it beyond the competency of the nation to remove an unfit ruler. This was a strictly domestic affair; but an embassy crossed the Alps to far-off Rome to lay the matter before the Holy Father. Pope Zachary answered, it was better that he should be king who was actually performing the king's duties. Thereupon Pippin the Short was unanimously chosen king by the Franks. St. Boniface, by order of the Pope, anointed the first king of the *Carolingian* line,[1] 752 A.D. Childeric, the last Merowingian king, ended his days in a monastery. "An important revolution of the greatest benefit for Church and State, one of the most

[1] This family is named not after its ancestor but after its greatest member, Charles the Great or Charlemagne (in Latin *Carolus Magnus*), who was Pippin's son. Sometimes, however, the family is styled "the Pippinides."

momentous events in history, was thus brought about without the slightest disorder."

FOUNDATION OF THE PAPAL STATES

428. Rome and the Popes. — Constantine the Great besides giving liberty to the Church donated large possessions to the Apostolic See and other ecclesiastical institutions. His example was followed by others. Eventually the pope became the richest landowner in Italy, a fact which enabled him to be, during the stormy period of the barbarian invasions, the benefactor of the poor and distressed throughout the whole world. Various emperors, moreover, bestowed on the popes regular governmental powers, such as the administration of the existing poor laws. All this helped to make the pope in the course of time the most important personage in Italy, particularly in Rome — the more so because, after the foundation of Constantinople, no emperor ever made the ancient capital his permanent residence. "Old Rome" was despised by the emperors as an unimportant provincial town. Their energy was required for the defense of the eastern frontier and was often squandered in domestic revolutions and religious disputes. It was the popes that kept up order in Rome and the little district which surrounded it (§ 413). They even collected the taxes exacted by the greedy ruler on the Bosphorus.

The Roman as well as the Ravennese territory was suffering from the persistent attacks of the Lombards. This Teutonic nation, even after its conversion to Catholicism, retained much of its primitive ferocity. The conquest of a city spelled certain ruin for its inhabitants. The emperor confined himself to writing encouraging letters and intrusting the popes with the defense of the country by arms, or by diplomatic missions to the Lombard court. If the helpless territories had not been swallowed up in 750 A.D., it was exclusively due to the popes.

More and more were the people drawn towards the actual ruler of their little "state." The district was looked upon as the

property of St. Peter and his successors. The pope certainly would have violated no right, had he renounced an allegiance which had long been forfeited by powerless, careless, or incapable emperors.

429. Foundations of the Papal States. — About 750 A.D. the attacks of the Lombards were renewed with increased violence. Letter upon letter went to Constantinople, and as usual nothing came back but letters or messengers offering words of encouragement with neither money nor army. Under these circumstances, Pope Stephen III finally resolved to apply for aid to the new king of the Franks, Pippin the Short. He himself made the journey across the Alps and was received with the greatest honor by the nation and their monarch. In a solemn assembly king and nobles swore that they would not fight against the Lombards, hitherto their friends, to reconquer territory either for themselves or for the emperor whose claims had lapsed, but that they were ready to vindicate with their swords the rights of the Church, St. Peter, and the Holy See.

The Franks crossed the Alps, and the Lombard king Aistulf gave up his conquests. Pippin might have kept these provinces for himself. He was able to defend and take care of them. But such was not his intention. He "restored them to St. Peter and his successors, to be possessed by them forever." In 756 A.D. the district of Rome together with that of Ravenna became the **Papal States.** Pope Stephen III, now real sovereign, gave Pippin the title of *Patrician of the Romans*, which made him the secular protector of the new papal monarchy.

430. Importance of the Papal States. — In Rome, as a matter of fact, the popes had ever been either persecuted and prisoners, or the most prominent personages. Though at all times desirable, a full sovereignty was less needed for them as long as nearly the whole Church was confined to the Roman Empire. It would be different in the times to come. "By a special dispensation of Divine Providence," says Pope Pius IX, "the civil sovereignty came to the Roman Pontiff. If he were subject

to another monarch's rule, he could never, in performing the duties of his Apostolic office, keep himself free from the influence of his sovereign, who might even fall away from the faith or wage war with another power."

THE PAPAL STATES

The Papal States are for the Church what the District of Columbia is for the United States. They are not the private property of the popes any more than the White House is the property of the President or the parochial residences the property of our parish priests.

The territorial independence of the Papacy is a necessary element in the life of the Middle Ages. This evident fact cannot always be referred to expressly in this textbook. Let the student himself ask the question, whether, on certain occasions, the pope would have acted as he did had he been the real subject of, say, France, or Germany, or England.

CHARLEMAGNE: HIS WARS AND HIS EMPIRE

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS WARS

431. Charlemagne the Man. — In 768 Pippin, King of the Franks, was succeeded by his son Karl. This prince is known in history as Charlemagne.[1] No doubt he was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived, and his work has profoundly influenced all later history. His friend and secretary, Einhard (Eginhard), describes him as a full-blooded German, with yellow hair, fair skin, and large, keen, blue eyes. He was simple in habits, temperate in eating and more so in drinking. He usually wore the ordinary dress of the Frankish noble, with a sword at his side and a blue cloak flung over his shoulders. But he was also a lover of Roman culture, and spared no efforts to preserve and extend it among his people.

He handled Latin as readily as his Frankish tongue, and understood Greek when it was spoken. He liked books. The *City of God*, by St. Augustine, was his favorite reading (§ 380). Frequently someone had to read to him during his meals. He made desperate attempts to learn also how to write, but was never able to do much more than sign his name. For the times, however, he was an educated man, and most willing to appreciate the learning of others. He gathered learned men around him from distant lands and delighted in their conversation. After his death, legend magnified and mystified his fame in all the countries that had been under his sway.

[1] The French form *Charlemagne* has won acceptance among English writers. In many books he is styled Charles the Great, or Karl the Great. The student must not think of him as a Frenchman, or even as "king of France." At that time there was no France in our sense of the word. The following chapters will make this clear. Charlemagne was "King of the Franks."

432. Character of Charlemagne's Wars. — The Frankish state was still in peril, from Mohammedanism on one side, and still more from barbarism on the other. His grandfather and father had checked the invasion. But under the vigorous new prince the Franks took the aggressive and rolled back the peril on both sides. His reign of nearly fifty years (768–814) was filled with ceaseless warfare, oftentimes two or more great campaigns to a season. At first glimpse, therefore, Charlemagne stands forth a warlike figure, like Caesar and Alexander. Like them he supported by arms the extension of the area of civilized life. But very unlike them, he conceived of no civilization except that imparted by Christianity. In fact, the protection and spread of Christianity he considered as his chief aim from the beginning of his long reign. He did not war for glory or gain as such. The greater part of his time and efforts was given to interior organization and government. Charles was not so much a fighter as a statesman and ruler. His wars had a twofold political result: (*a*) the enlargement of the Frankish state, and (*b*) the establishment of tributary border states.

A Frankish Warrior of the Carolingian Period

433. The Enlargement of the Realm. *Winning of the Saxon Lands.* — The heathen Saxons still held the wilderness between the Rhine and the Elbe, near the North Sea.[1] They were con-

[1] At present the name of Saxony is chiefly applied to other districts.

stantly harassing the Frankish dominions by devastating raids. Missionaries could never penetrate into the land. For Charles the war against them was a necessity. But it proved a desperate enterprise. Nine times, after they seemed subdued, the Saxons shook off his yoke, massacred the Frankish garrisons, and returned to the abominations of paganism with its human sacrifices.

Seal of Charlemagne

This is the nearest approach to a likeness of the greatest of the Franks. The inscription is much abbreviated: XPE PROTEGE CAROLUM REGE(M) FRANC(O)R(UM), "Christ protect Charles the king of the Franks." See legend of illustration on p. 235. The cross stands for an *X*. (The so-called pictures of Charlemagne in many books are purely imaginative, by artists of later centuries.)

Unfortunately Charles' methods were not above reproach. Contrary to the spirit of Christianity he forced the Saxons to be baptized. It is a blot on his name, too, that he executed after one rising forty-five hundred men (a number doubted by good historians). The rebels, however, had been condemned by their own chiefs. The genuine conversion of the Saxon leader *Widukind* was a great step toward final submission.

These wars were the most fruitful of the whole century. The Saxon country came to be covered with churches and monasteries and the schools inseparable from them. The Saxons became fervent Christians and proved loyal subjects to their stern conqueror. This conversion and the establishment of bishoprics in Saxony completed the work of St. Boniface for Germany. Christian civilization now extended to the Elbe. The country thus gained was destined to play an influential part in the formation of medieval Germany.

In other campaigns Charles thrust back the *Saracens* in Spain as far as the Ebro and established there the Spanish March. The last *Lombard* king, Desiderius, quarreled with the Pope. After fruitless negotiations Charles marched into Italy, confirmed Pippin's grant to the Apostolic See, conquered the kingdom of Lombardy, sent Desiderius to a monastery, and with the partial consent of the nation proclaimed himself King of the

Lombards. He also reduced Bavaria, which had never been a secure possession, deposed its duke, and incorporated it into the Frankish state. With it went the countries between Bavaria and the northern end of the Adriatic Sea.

Thus all the surviving Germanic peoples on the continent of Europe, Lombards, Burgundians, Bavarians, Alemannians, Saxons, Frisians, Franks, and part of the Visigoths were united in one Christian state. The population, except in the northeast, was overwhelmingly Roman, notably Celto-Roman, while the rule was in Teutonic hands. This unity seems to have been the aim of Charlemagne.

It is worthy of notice that the small Teutonic states outside his realm — in Denmark, Scandinavia, and England — recognized in some vague terms an overlordship in the ruler of the continent.

434. The Tributary States. — Beyond the German territory there stretched away indefinitely the Slavs and Avars, who from time to time hurled themselves against the barriers of civilization, as in old Roman days. In the closing part of his reign, Charlemagne attacked barbarism in its own strongholds. These long wars were really *defensive* in character. Gradually the first line of the people beyond the Elbe and Danube (including modern Bohemia and Moravia) was reduced to tributary states. *They were intended to serve as buffers against their untamed brethren farther east.*[1]

But the event which more than anything else gave to Charlemagne his place in history is the revival of the Roman Empire in the West.

CHARLEMAGNE AND HIS EMPIRE

435. Possibility of the Revival. — In the West of Europe the idea of an emperor was not forgotten (§§ 371, 393, 413). The nations, Teutonic as well as Roman, desired to see an emperor rise again who would combine imperial power with an imperial

[1] Notice the acquisitions made by Charlemagne and the extent of his empire on the map following page 328.

title, who would, according to the notion cherished since Constantine, be *a defender of the Church, a protector of right and justice.* There was now a ruler who lacked none of all the requisites but the title. Some exchange of thought on this subject had evidently taken place between the Pope and Charlemagne, at least in some general way. A renewal of this sacred dignity was of advantage to both. The magic of the name would enormously increase the king's authority over the many nationalities of his realm, and the Pope would gain a greater claim to the active assistance of the Frankish monarch. The only one who, according to the spirit of the time, could take the initiative and act as the spokesman of the nations was the Pope. An emperor sanctioned and crowned by the Head of all Christendom would meet with a general and unbounded enthusiasm.

436. Coronation of Charlemagne. — In 799 A.D. a band of Roman nobles, probably relying on the support of a Lombard and Byzantine faction in Italy, attacked Pope St. Leo III in a procession, and only with great difficulty could he save himself by flight. Like Stephen III he went in person across the Alps, and obtained from the king the promise of his assistance. The following year saw Charlemagne in Rome, where he took vigorous measures for the future safety of the Holy Father. Then, on Christmas, when Charles was kneeling in St. Peter's Church to hear Mass, Pope Leo III approached him, placed a golden crown upon his head, and greeted him with the words, " Long life and victory to Charles, the most pious Augustus, crowned of God, the great and peace-giving **Emperor of the Romans."** The cry was repeated in the church and reëchoed by the crowds outside. Christmas Day of the year 800 is one of the most memorable dates in the history of Europe. It is the birthday of the **Holy Roman Empire.**

437. Relation of the Emperor to the Pope and to Other Rulers. — By his elevation the emperor gained neither any new territory nor the right of interfering in the interior affairs of any other state. Nor did he become the sovereign of the Papal

States. On the contrary, it was one of the obligations of his office to guarantee these possessions to the incumbent of the Holy See. Only when requested by the pope was he allowed to exercise jurisdiction within them. Neither did his position make him a subject of the Pope in temporal matters. But the new dignity endowed him with a moral power which no feat of arms or successful conquests could have given him. Over other Christian princes, should there be any, the emperor would possess a primacy of honor, and the right of summoning them to his assistance in any enterprise undertaken for the welfare of the Church. Papacy and Empire were to stand side by side, each supreme in its own sphere, the emperor being ever ready to support with physical force the spiritual government of the pope and to defend all the interests of the Church of God on earth.

The great act of 800 A.D. in St. Peter's Basilica was the beginning of that intimate union between Church and State which, in spite of many shortcomings, must ever be considered as the nearest realization of the true ideal relation between the two which the world has ever known. The medieval emperor stood essentially higher than any other ruler; he was endowed with a sacred character; only one prince might rightfully call himself Emperor, and he only after being crowned by the head of the Church in Rome. The Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire were the two centers around which moved events of the greatest importance in European history.

All these attributes of the imperial dignity were rather acknowledged instinctively by the contemporaries of Charlemagne than formally expressed. The very designation of "Holy Roman Empire" was coined later. By his tact Charlemagne soon overcame the sensitiveness of the Byzantine emperors, and before long was addressed by them as "Emperor and King."

LIFE IN CHARLEMAGNE'S EMPIRE

438. Economic Conditions. — We must not think that the glory and prosperity of the old Empire had been restored with its name. To accomplish that was to be the work of centuries

more. In 800 the West was ignorant and poor. There was barbarism in the most civilized society. Roads had fallen into neglect; brigands infested them; and there was little communication between one district and another. Money was scarce. Almost the only industry was agriculture.

Perhaps we can see this condition best by looking at the revenues of Charlemagne himself. Great and powerful as he was, he was always pinched for money. *There were no taxes*, as we understand the word, partly because there was not enough money with which to pay them. Payment was made *by service in person.* The common freemen paid by serving in the ranks of the army, the nobles by serving with their followers, and also by acting, without salary, as officers in the government. The chief support of the king's treasury came *from the royal farms* scattered through the realm.

The king and court often traveled from farm to farm to consume the produce upon the spot. Charlemagne took the most minute care that his farms should be well tilled, and that each one should pay him every egg and vegetable due. For the management of his estates he drew up regulations, from which we learn much about the conditions of the times. (Davis's *Readings*, II, No. 149; or Ogg's *Source Book*, No. 18.)

439. The government of Charlemagne's empire was rude and simple, but suited to the conditions of the age.

Five features deserve attention: the *counts;* the watching of the counts by the *missi dominici;* the *king's own marvelous activity;* the *capitularies;* and *Mayfields.*

Under the Merowingians, large fragments of the kingdom had fallen under the rule of *dukes,* who became almost independent sovereigns and who usually passed on their authority to their sons. Pippin began to replace these *hereditary dukes* with *appointed counts,* more closely dependent upon the royal will. This practice was extended by Charlemagne. Except on the frontier, no one count was given a large district; so these officers were numerous. On the frontiers, to watch the outside bar-

ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
CALIPHAT
EMIRATE OF CORDOVA
Cordova
CANTABRIA
AQUITAINE
NEUSTRIA
Paris
Seine
BURGUNDY
ALLEMANIA
AUSTRASIA
Mainz
Aachen
Cologne
SAXONY
Rhine
Elbe
BOHEMIA
TRIBUTARY
Milan
Ravenna
Rome
LOMBARDS
Canterbury
London
Whitby
ANGLO-SAXONS
FRISIANS
DANES
NORTH
IRELAND
Iara
For several centuries before A.D. 800
Ireland was called Scotia
SCALE OF MILES
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
Longitude

THE FOUR
GREAT POWERS
in A.D. 800
Papal States, independent but under Frankish Protection
Frankish Kingdom before Charlemagne
Charlemagne's conquests
Roman Empire of the East
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
Constantinople
Hadrianople
Tigris
Euphrates
Bagdad
Jerusalem
Alexandria
L.L.POATES CO., N.Y.
from Greenwich

barians, the imperial officers were given large territories ("marks"), and were called *margraves*.[1] To counts and margraves the king intrusted all ordinary business of government for their districts. They maintained order, administered justice, levied troops, and in all ways represented the king to the people.

THE MINSTER OF AACHEN

The octagon in the center was Charlemagne's "palace chapel." Pope Leo III sent rare marble columns from Italy for its construction. The other parts are of later date.

[1] The title of count has nothing to do with counting. It is derived from a Latin word which means companion. This was the appellation of certain officials in the later Roman Empire. The German word for it is *Graf*, the ancient form of which appears in margrave (Markgraf).

To keep the counts in order, Charlemagne sent out the *missi dominici* (" king's messengers "), to examine the administration of the counts, to correct injustice, hold popular assemblies, and report all to the king.

This simple system worked wonderfully well in Charlemagne's lifetime, largely because of *his own marvelous activity.* Despite the terrible conditions of the roads, and the other hardships of travel in those times, the king was constantly on the move, journeying from end to end of his vast dominions and attending unweariedly to its wants. No commercial traveler of to-day travels more faithfully, and none dreams of meeting such hardships.

With the help of his advisers, the king drew up collections of laws to suit the needs of his people. These collections are known as *capitularies.*

To keep in closer touch with popular feeling in all parts of the kingdom, Charlemagne made use of the old Teutonic assemblies, which were held chiefly in May. All freemen *could* attend. Sometimes, especially when war was to be decided upon, this " Mayfield " gathering comprised the bulk of the men of the Frankish nation. At other times it was made up only of the great nobles and churchmen. To these assemblies the capitularies were read; but the assembly was not itself a legislature. *Law-making was in the hands of the king.* At the most, the assemblies could bring to bear upon him mildly the force of public opinion.

440. Education. — One of Charlemagne's greatest merits is the encouragement he gave to education. There existed in places all over his empire monasteries with schools attached to them. These he promoted in every way possible, and he urged other monasteries to open new ones. He also insisted that there should be a school in every episcopal city. At Aachen, where he resided most frequently, he established the " Palace School," of which he himself was a pupil. He induced learned men from Ireland and England to come and devote themselves to the task of teaching in his lands. He won

for his Palace School the famous Anglo-Saxon *Alcuin* of York, whose expert advice he ever followed in fostering education in his wide empire. He tried to prevail on his nobles, too, to send their children to the new or old schools. Numerous new copies of Holy Writ, Roman and Greek classical authors, biographies, chronicles, and works of secular history were produced, or similar works composed. The large number of learned men who lived and worked and taught in the period after his death was the fruit of his untiring efforts in favor of education.

441. The Place of Charlemagne in History. — Charlemagne restored order to Europe, at least for his lifetime. It is true he was ahead of his age; and after his death his great design in many regards broke to pieces. But the imperial idea to which he had given new life and new meaning was to be for ages the inspiration of the best minds as they strove against the forces of anarchy in behalf of order, peace, and progress.

Charlemagne stands for five great movements:

(*a*) He expanded the area of Christianity and of civilization.

(*b*) He created one great Romano-Teutonic state.

(*c*) As the outward form of this state he revived the Roman Empire in the West.

(*d*) He brought about a revival of education and learning.

(*e*) He assisted in securing for the Papacy that independence which it needed to develop its divine resources.

Looking at his work as a whole we may say he wrought wisely and successfully to combine the best elements into a new Christian civilization. Charlemagne stands out as the greatest political figure of a thousand years.

SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF EUROPEAN SOCIETY

During the first part of the Middle Ages the various streams of influence coming from Christianity, the Roman Empire, and the Teutons had run together. The foundations of a new European society with new institutions were laid. It is well to point out in detail what each of the several factors contributed.

442. Christianity (*a*) restored the worship of the One True God "Who made heaven and earth," and with it gave

back to mankind the safest guarantee of welfare and civilization.

(*b*) It consequently inculcated the true notion of human life and liberty, thus rescuing the rights of slaves, children, and women.

(*c*) It secured the future of the human race by reinstating and elevating matrimony.

(*d*) It furnished the correct notion of the dignity of the lowly and their occupations.

(*e*) It placed before the eyes of the world a spotless ideal of virtue, the God-Man Jesus Christ, and his immaculate mother Mary.

(*f*) It established a religion which satisfies the human intellect as well as the human will and heart.

(*g*) It was itself a world-wide organization, strong enough to foster in its bosom all the rising institutions, and at the same time bringing home the fact of the unity of the human race and the brotherhood of men.

443. The contributions of the Roman Empire were partly those of the population, partly those of the political organization.

(1) The population contributed:

(*a*) The intellectual and material civilization of ancient Greece, together with the Oriental inheritance, but all this modified by the Roman genius.

(*b*) A universal language with its literary treasures, which even after losing its hold on the common people was to remain the vehicle of educated thought for the next thousand years.

(2) *The political organization* contributed:

(*a*) The idea and machinery of centralized government.

(*b*) Municipal institutions.

(*c*) Roman law.

(*d*) The idea of a ONE secular authority as the secular center and head of the civilized world.

Assisted by King St. Oswald, they recovered the lost ground and perfected the conversion of the whole kingdom. The other kingdoms were won partly by the zeal and influence of Roman missionaries from the south, partly by the activity of the "Scots" from the north. St. Theodore, Papal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), completed the work of ecclesiastical organization. The kingdom of Sussex, as the last, was converted in 681 by St. Wilfrid.

462. Results of the Conversion. — (*a*) While Anglo-Saxon paganism completely lacked common organization, Christianity now formed a strong religious tie, which embraced all kingdoms.

(*b*) A more lively intercourse was created by the national councils, in which the bishops of the whole country met to discuss common interests.

(*c*) By this intercourse, and by the influence of Latin, the primitive dialects were welded together into a more unified speech.

(*d*) The country entered into the intellectual life of the continent by the journeys of Anglo-Saxon bishops, kings, and monks to Rome and to the monasteries of Gaul and Italy.

(*e*) A large number of monasteries and of monastic and episcopal schools rose in the country.

(*f*) Although the wars waged by the Christian states among themselves and with the Britons remained bloody enough, they were at least not attended by such wholesale destruction as before.

The first three advantages in particular helped to prepare the political union of the country.

463. Political Union. — In the course of Anglo-Saxon history several kings wielded an influence that extended beyond their own particular kingdom. They are called "bretwaldas" (broad-wielders). But each bretwalda's power rested on his own ability and success. Nor did any one of them ever extend his sway over *all* the other kingdoms. In the beginning of the ninth century King Egbert of Wessex, of the family of *Cedric*,

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alcluyd
STRATHCLYDE
Edinburgh
Jedburgh
BERNICIA
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
DANELAGH
Manchester
Tadwall
Lindesey
Peakland
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Shrewsbury
Watling
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
Crowland
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Bridgenorth
WESSEX
Bedford
Oase
Breckno
Worcester
Street
Dyfed
Gwent
Cirencester
AND ITS
Essex
Morganwg
Wallingford
Middlesex
LONDON
Bristol
Wedmore
Exeter
Reading
Surrey
CANTERBURY
DEPENDENCIES
Kent
WESSEX
Andredeswald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES

rose to this position of Bretwalda. He first enlarged his own kingdom by adding the Celtic Cornwall. He then brought all the Teutonic parts of the island to acknowledge his overlordship. England — for at that time this name came into use — was indeed still far from being one compact state. Still there existed about 830 A.D. at least some kind of political union. From Egbert on there has been a united England. Never were the several kingdoms to rise again as separate and independent political units. This progress of consolidation was greatly facilitated by the invasions of the Northmen.

THE DANISH INVASIONS — ALFRED THE GREAT

464. The Norsemen, called Danes in England, invaded England as they did the continent, first for plunder, then for conquest and settlement. Their sackings and devastations were of the same character (§ 450). In 850 they made their first permanent settlement. Soon district after district came under their power. By 871 the Danes were masters of all England, the last king of Wessex having fallen in battle. This marked the beginnings of one of the most glorious epochs of England's history, the time of Alfred the Great.

465. Alfred the Great (871–901). — He was the youngest brother of the fallen king and King Egbert's grandson. At first he concealed himself in marshes and fens. But he soon contrived to make himself formidable to the invaders. The Danes were signally defeated. By the treaty of *Wedmore*, 878, Guthrum, their king, consented to rule one part of England as a vassal of Alfred. A line running from London northwest through Mercia, mostly along Watling Street, the famous Roman road, divided the territories. Guthrum himself adopted Christianity and ever remained faithful to the promises he had made to Alfred, now his godfather. However, Alfred's overlordship over the "Danelagh" (Dane-Law) — the land of Danish rule — existed more in name than in reality. The Danelagh was practically an independent state.

Alfred's Activity. — Alfred found the country in a terrible condition. The cities with their churches lay in ruins. The monasteries, the chief support of literary education, were destroyed. There was ignorance beyond description, not only among the laity but even among the clergy — in those days the most educated class. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book (from the Latin in which it was written) into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse.

To strengthen England against future danger, Alfred reorganized the army and reared many a strong fort at commanding positions. Eventually to meet the enemy on his own element he created a fleet and thereby became the "Founder of the English Navy." He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper textbooks in English for his new schools he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English, with much comment of his own — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of the "Father of English Prose."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him: —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in goldwork, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakespeare. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily'; and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'"

466. Alfred's successors, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, took the offensive against the Danes. Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds, contributed each his share to reconquer the Danelagh, without, however, altogether driving out the Danish inhabitants. Under Edgar the Peaceful the country rested undisturbed. He never had to unsheath his sword, though he was ever ready for war, often displayed his military strength, and every year sailed with a fleet of three hundred ships around the whole island to inspire his enemies with a wholesome fear. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west and north came to his court to pay him homage. Under the strong and just government of Alfred's successors the old differences between the seven Anglo-Saxon realms and their separate aspirations disappeared entirely. *England was one kingdom.*

CHAPTER XXXIII

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

This chapter explains how the states of the Middle Ages came to be governed; how this resulted in a difference of classes, nobility and workers; how religion, which in all essential parts was the same as the Catholic religion of to-day, was looked upon and practiced.

FEUDALISM

467. Description. — The administration and government of present-day states, republics as well as monarchies, is carried out by officials, appointed or elected, who serve for a certain term of years and receive a fixed sum of money called salary for their services. They cannot consider their office or position their own, as they do their houses or gardens. Nor can they transmit their offices and the revenues connected with them to their sons as an inheritance.

In those times there was little money wherewith to pay salaries and other government expenses. The rulers drew their revenues not from taxes but from large landed estates (see § 438). Similarly the men who in the king's name governed the various districts and provinces of the realm did not receive salaries as our officials do, but enjoyed the revenues from certain estates. Their services, however, were not only administrative but military as well. When called upon, they were obliged to gather their fighting men and serve in the king's army every year for a definite number of weeks. When the holder of such an office died, all his rights and duties, as if they were private property, passed on to his eldest son. The son must, as soon as possible, present himself before the king and " pay him homage," that is, profess him-

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Assisted by King St. Oswald, they recovered the lost ground and perfected the conversion of the whole kingdom. The other kingdoms were won partly by the zeal and influence of Roman missionaries from the south, partly by the activity of the "Scots" from the north. St. Theodore, Papal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury (668–690), completed the work of ecclesiastical organization. The kingdom of Sussex, as the last, was converted in 681 by St. Wilfrid.

462. Results of the Conversion. — (*a*) While Anglo-Saxon paganism completely lacked common organization, Christianity now formed a strong religious tie, which embraced all kingdoms.

(*b*) A more lively intercourse was created by the national councils, in which the bishops of the whole country met to discuss common interests.

(*c*) By this intercourse, and by the influence of Latin, the primitive dialects were welded together into a more unified speech.

(*d*) The country entered into the intellectual life of the continent by the journeys of Anglo-Saxon bishops, kings, and monks to Rome and to the monasteries of Gaul and Italy.

(*e*) A large number of monasteries and of monastic and episcopal schools rose in the country.

(*f*) Although the wars waged by the Christian states among themselves and with the Britons remained bloody enough, they were at least not attended by such wholesale destruction as before.

The first three advantages in particular helped to prepare the political union of the country.

463. Political Union. — In the course of Anglo-Saxon history several kings wielded an influence that extended beyond their own particular kingdom. They are called "bretwaldas" (broad-wielders). But each bretwalda's power rested on his own ability and success. Nor did any one of them ever extend his sway over *all* the other kingdoms. In the beginning of the ninth century King Egbert of Wessex, of the family of *Cedric*,

ENGLAND
AND
THE DANELAGH
about 900
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80
English
Danish
Watling Street
SCOT
KINGDOM
Alcluyd
Edinburgh
STRATHCLYDE
BERNICIA
Jedburgh
Cumberland
MAN
Northumbria
YORK
DANELAGH
Manchester
Tyrwall
Peakland
Lindesey
Chester
Nottingham
Repton
Watling
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Medeshampsted
Crowland
Northfolk
East
Anglia
Southfolk
Bridgenorth
WESSEX
Bedford
Ouse
Breckno
Worcester
Dyfed
Gwent
Morganwg
Cirencester
AND ITS
Wallingford
Middlesex
LONDON
Essex
Bristol
Wedmore
Escesdun
Reading
Surrey
DANTERBURY
DEPENDENCIES
Kent
WESSEX
Andredeswald
Glastonbury
Salisbury
WINCHESTER
Sussex
EXETER
WEST WALES
NORTH WALES

rose to this position of Bretwalda. He first enlarged his own kingdom by adding the Celtic Cornwall. He then brought all the Teutonic parts of the island to acknowledge his overlordship. England — for at that time this name came into use — was indeed still far from being one compact state. Still there existed about 830 A.D. at least some kind of political union. From Egbert on there has been a united England. Never were the several kingdoms to rise again as separate and independent political units. This progress of consolidation was greatly facilitated by the invasions of the Northmen.

THE DANISH INVASIONS — ALFRED THE GREAT

464. The Norsemen, called Danes in England, invaded England as they did the continent, first for plunder, then for conquest and settlement. Their sackings and devastations were of the same character (§ 450). In 850 they made their first permanent settlement. Soon district after district came under their power. By 871 the Danes were masters of all England, the last king of Wessex having fallen in battle. This marked the beginnings of one of the most glorious epochs of England's history, the time of Alfred the Great.

465. Alfred the Great (871–901). — He was the youngest brother of the fallen king and King Egbert's grandson. At first he concealed himself in marshes and fens. But he soon contrived to make himself formidable to the invaders. The Danes were signally defeated. By the treaty of *Wedmore*, 878, Guthrum, their king, consented to rule one part of England as a vassal of Alfred. A line running from London northwest through Mercia, mostly along Watling Street, the famous Roman road, divided the territories. Guthrum himself adopted Christianity and ever remained faithful to the promises he had made to Alfred, now his godfather. However, Alfred's overlordship over the "Danelagh" (Dane-Law) — the land of Danish rule — existed more in name than in reality. The Danelagh was practically an independent state.

Alfred's Activity. — Alfred found the country in a terrible condition. The cities with their churches lay in ruins. The monasteries, the chief support of literary education, were destroyed. There was ignorance beyond description, not only among the laity but even among the clergy — in those days the most educated class. "When I began to reign," wrote Alfred himself later, "I cannot remember one priest south of the Thames who could render his service-book (from the Latin in which it was written) into English." North of the Thames, the king explains, conditions were still worse.

To strengthen England against future danger, Alfred reorganized the army and reared many a strong fort at commanding positions. Eventually to meet the enemy on his own element he created a fleet and thereby became the "Founder of the English Navy." He rebuilt the wasted towns, restored churches and abbeys, codified the laws, reformed the government, and ardently encouraged the revival of learning, eagerly seeking out teachers at home and abroad. In the absence of proper textbooks in English for his new schools he himself laboriously translated four standard Latin works into English, with much comment of his own — so adding to his other titles the well-deserved one of the "Father of English Prose."

Alfred's activity was many-sided. A great historian has written of him: —

"To the scholars he gathered round him he seemed the very type of a scholar, snatching every hour he could find to read or listen to books. The singers of the court found in him a brother singer, gathering the old songs of his people to teach them to his children . . . and solacing himself, in hours of depression, with the music of the Psalms. He passed from court and study to plan buildings and instruct craftsmen in goldwork, or even to teach falconers and dog-keepers their business. . . . Each hour of the day had its appointed task. . . . Scholar and soldier, artist and man of business, poet and saint, his character kept that perfect balance which charms us in no other Englishman save Shakespeare. 'So long as I have lived,' said he as life was closing, 'I have striven to live worthily'; and again, 'I desire to leave to men who come after me a remembrance of me in good works.'"

466. Alfred's successors, his son, grandson, and great-grandson, took the offensive against the Danes. Edward the Unconquered, Athelstan the Glorious, and Edmund the Doer of Deeds, contributed each his share to reconquer the Danelagh, without, however, altogether driving out the Danish inhabitants. Under Edgar the Peaceful the country rested undisturbed. He never had to unsheath his sword, though he was ever ready for war, often displayed his military strength, and every year sailed with a fleet of three hundred ships around the whole island to inspire his enemies with a wholesome fear. Even the kings of the Celtic tribes in the far west and north came to his court to pay him homage. Under the strong and just government of Alfred's successors the old differences between the seven Anglo-Saxon realms and their separate aspirations disappeared entirely. *England was one kingdom.*

CHAPTER XXXIII

MEDIEVAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

This chapter explains how the states of the Middle Ages came to be governed; how this resulted in a difference of classes, nobility and workers; how religion, which in all essential parts was the same as the Catholic religion of to-day, was looked upon and practiced.

FEUDALISM

467. Description. — The administration and government of present-day states, republics as well as monarchies, is carried out by officials, appointed or elected, who serve for a certain term of years and receive a fixed sum of money called salary for their services. They cannot consider their office or position their own, as they do their houses or gardens. Nor can they transmit their offices and the revenues connected with them to their sons as an inheritance.

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RELATION BETWEEN LORD AND VASSAL

469. Position and Obligations of the Lord. — The vassal was far from considering his position degrading. Those only were vassals who were not obliged to work with their hands. The lowest vassal had his estate worked by serfs and villeins (see § 475). Both lord and vassal belonged to *the nobility*. In fact, they lived on terms of familiarity and mutual respect. Was the king himself, after all, more than a vassal of God? The lord was admired and almost worshiped by his people; and in return, however harsh himself, he permitted no one else to injure or insult one of his dependents. An honorable noble, indeed, lived always under a stern sense of obligation to all the people subject to him. A rough paternalism ruled in society.

The sacredness with which the lord considered his duty of assisting his vassals is graphically pictured in the *Nibelungenlied*, the greatest German epic of the Middle Ages. King Gunther undergoes the utmost hardships and dangers rather than deliver one of his vassals to the vengeance of a personal enemy.

It goes without saying that all lords did not come up to his ideal. Many no doubt seriously abused their power. By doing so, however, they brought upon themselves general contempt and hatred.

470. The vassal's obligations, after the system had become more or less fixed, may be summed up chiefly under three heads:

(1) *The vassal was to present himself, at the call of his lord,*[1] *to serve in war,* — perhaps alone, perhaps followed by an army of knights and men-at-arms, according to the size of his fief. He could be compelled to serve a fixed time each year, commonly only forty days, but for that time he was to maintain himself and his men.

The short term of service made the feudal array of little use for distant expeditions; and indeed vassals were sometimes not under obligation to follow their lord out of the realm. The jealousies among the vassals, and the absence of any power except that of a lord over his immediate followers, tended to diminish the cohesion which an army needs in order to be efficient.

[1] *Pennsylvania Reprints*, IV, No. 3, gives forms of summons.

(2) *The vassal was bound to serve also in the lord's "court,"* usually at three periods each year. The court had two distinct functions. (*a*) As a judicial body, it gave judgment in legal disputes between vassals; and (*b*) as a council, it advised the lord in all important matters.

A Baron's Court
From a sixteenth-century woodcut.

A vassal, accused even by his lord, could be condemned only by this judgment of his peers (Latin *pares*), or equals. The lord was only the presiding officer, not the sole judge. The second office of the court was even more important: the lord could not count upon support in any serious undertaking unless he first secured the approval of his council. In feudal language, the council "advised and consented." This expression, through English practice, has come down into our Constitution: our President is empowered to do certain things "with the advice and consent" of the Senate.

Knight in Chain Armor
The suit is made up of iron links and ringlets, also called "mail" or "chain mail."

(3) *The vassal was to make four kinds of financial contributions.* (*a*) Upon receiving a fief, either as a gift or as an inheritance, he paid the lord a sum of money. It was called a *relief*, and commonly amounted to a year's revenue. (*b*) If the vassal wished to sell his fief, or to sublet part of it, he was obliged to pay for the lord's consent. (*c*) Upon other occasions he made payments known as *aids*. The three most common purposes were to

ransom the lord, if a prisoner, and to help meet the expense of *knighting the lord's eldest son* and of *the marriage of his eldest daughter.* (*d*) Similar to such payments, but more oppressive, was the obligation *to entertain the lord and all his following* upon a visit. Frequently, however, it was set forth in the contract how often the lord might call, and how he was to be treated. (On other claims of the lord upon the fief see *Modern World,* § 121.)

Plate Armor of about 1500

Closed helmet and visor of "bellows" type having four ridges.

471. Peculiarities. — To understand the system fully and to realize to what complications it was able to lead, the student should keep in mind several peculiarities: (1) *The vassal was bound to his lord, but not to his lord's lord.* Hence the maxim, *"My vassal's vassal is not my vassal."* Hence, too, there was no appeal from the lord's verdict to the overlord. The king only, as the supreme champion of right and justice, might interfere, but he was far away and it was rarely possible to lay the matter before him. Nor was a subvassal guilty of treason if his lord offended against the higher lord and summoned the subvassals to a war against the latter. The vassals were like so many little kings, each in his own small or large fief. The system tended to a complete decentralization of power. France at one time was divided among some 70,000 fiefholders.

(2) *A man could hold fiefs from different lords.* He then became the vassal of two or more lords. When taking his oath of fealty he would, in such a case, expressly reserve the rights of his first lord, and he could not

be forced to war against him. He might take land from one who otherwise was his inferior on the social ladder, even from his own vassal. The obligations were always laid down in carefully worded contracts. It is evident what a complication of relations — we are strongly inclined to call it confusion — could thus be brought about.

(3) *Not only individuals but corporations as well could enter into the relation of lord and vassal.* This is particularly true of *ecclesiastical institutions*, as bishoprics and monasteries. From rulers and other pious persons they obtained property of both kinds, allodial and feudal. By the latter the bishop or abbot or abbess became a vassal, obliged to furnish a certain number of soldiers to the lord, who might or might not be the king himself. According to the laws of Church and State, however, clerics were not allowed to fight in person.[1] Their possessions, allodial and feudal, they might hand over to vassals. It was the ecclesiastical institutions, too, that received proportionately many possessions by way of "commendation." The burdens they imposed were as a rule lighter than those exacted by lay lords. Besides, the lands thus surrendered became ecclesiastical possessions and enjoyed the special protection granted by stringent laws of the Church against violators of sacred property. — Later on when the *cities* rose to importance, they also might accept or grant fiefs.

HOW DID THE SYSTEM OF FEUDALISM ARISE?

472. Roman and Germanic Institutions. — It must not be imagined that feudalism sprang into existence in its full final shape as suddenly as a new system of education is introduced by some city or state. It took centuries to grow. Its beginnings go far back into the time before Charlemagne. The great landholders found it easier to divide their immense estates among tenants who paid their rent by services. This practice existed in the later Roman Empire (§ 385) and may have been taken over by the Germans. Besides, the kings of the invading nations always received a very considerable share of the estates taken from the old inhabitants. They roped off sections of them to their followers, who in return were obliged to supply a certain number of warriors. The system

[1] This prohibition was unfortunately not always observed. In the times of disorder, abbots and even bishops are met with who appeared in armor and on horseback at the head of their contingents.

increased very rapidly during the period of unsafety under the later Carolingians, when the owners of large districts surrounded themselves with bands of loyal followers (§ 390) to repel attacks of rapacious neighbors or even foreign enemies. It was then that the practice of commendation (§ 468) assumed large proportions. The little army of the lord was ever ready or could be collected almost at a moment's notice. At this time, too, the counts appointed by the kings often succeeded in making themselves feudal lords of their districts.

Originally every freeholder (owner of allodial property) was bound to military service in the king's army, though these national troops were rarely summoned. With the decrease of the number of freeholders, in consequence of "commendation," or of violence on the part of some mighty lord, the contingents of the freeholders in the royal army also decreased, so that the king's force more and more came to consist exclusively of the levies furnished by his vassals.

473. The rich landowners came into prominence because they could equip themselves with horses and armor. The infantry, once the main part of the national army, lost its importance when the Arabian or Hungarian raiders appeared on their fleet horses or the Danes in their light boats. The swift, mail-clad horseman now became the main reliance. As every warrior had to supply his own equipment, only the wealthier could afford serving on horseback. This circumstance partly caused, and at any rate tended to perpetuate, the difference between the poor peasant and the nobleman, whose sole occupation consisted in fighting or being ready for fighting (§ 476).

The nobleman's castle at the same time afforded protection to his serfs and villeins. In its fortifications they found a refuge when an inroad threatened, and though their modest dwellings might be burned down, at least their lives were safe, and they could return to their fields after the storm had swept by.

Thus feudalism arose out of a great variety of causes. And though it always supposed the existence of a supreme head of the

state, it owed much of its predominance to the fact that the kings were not always powerful enough to meet the ever-repeated attacks of foreign foes.

474. Nobility. — Those men only who were not obliged to work with their hands made up the feudal world in the strict sense of the term. They alone were able to equip themselves with everything necessary to serve on horseback. At first it was the possession of a fief or of property sufficient for this purpose, and other reasons, which sharply distinguished them from the rest of the people. They and *their descendants* formed the *nobility or knighthood*, for which the property qualification alone was no longer sufficient or necessary. Not all those of noble lineage actually possessed fiefs or allodial property. Many were simply attached to some great lord. But they alone might be invested with fiefs or enjoy certain other privileged positions at the courts of the mighty.

VILLEINS RECEIVING DIRECTIONS FOR WORK
From a miniature in a fifteenth-century manuscript.

475. The Workers. — The fields were tilled by *serfs and villeins* (the latter word from the Latin *villa*, rural possession). They stood, however, in a relation to their lord somewhat similar to that of the noble vassal. They received moderate farms, the products of which were their own. Instead of rendering military service they were obliged to serve a specified number of days in the lord's fields, and had to deliver to him a certain share of their

own crops. There existed of course no social equality between them and their masters, from whom they and their children remained socially separated by a hard and fast line. Still a beautiful, not to say cordial, relation often existed between the lord and his peasantry. The *serfs*, as in the later Roman Empire (§ 385), were bound to the soil and were bought and sold with it. Their condition was often miserable, because they depended greatly on

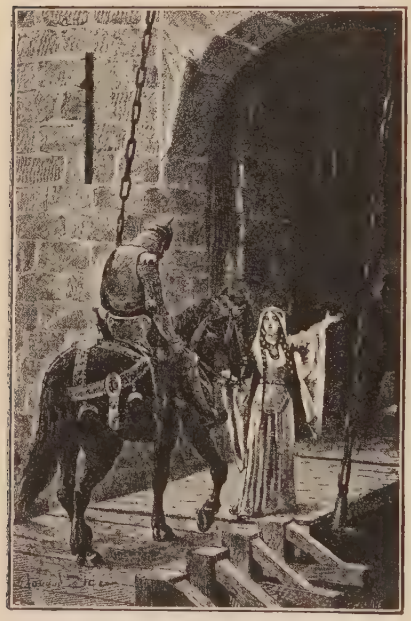
AN ACT OF HOMAGE
From a twelfth-century manuscript.

the whims of their master. (See, however, § 483.) The *villeins* might leave the lord's service if they pleased, just as a tenant is at liberty to give up the farm he has rented. But it was risky for him to remain without any other master. The lordless and landless man could count on little protection.[1]

Serfdom and villeinage ran into each other in the most confusing manner, so that they are often referred to under either name. This dependent class had partly arisen out of the old slavery, which existed

[1] The way in which the higher class thought of the villein is shown by the fact that his name became a term of reproach (villain).

among the Teutons also. Owing chiefly to Christian influence slavery had greatly diminished. Nor was there any slave trade deserving the name. Villeinage and serfdom often originated by something similar to "commendation" (§ 468). In the troublous times the free peasant might prefer the safety of the dependent worker to the insecurity of his own freedom. He preferably sought the protection of the ecclesiastical institutions, such as monasteries or bishoprics, by surrendering himself to their service. Written contracts specified the burdens he was going to take upon himself.



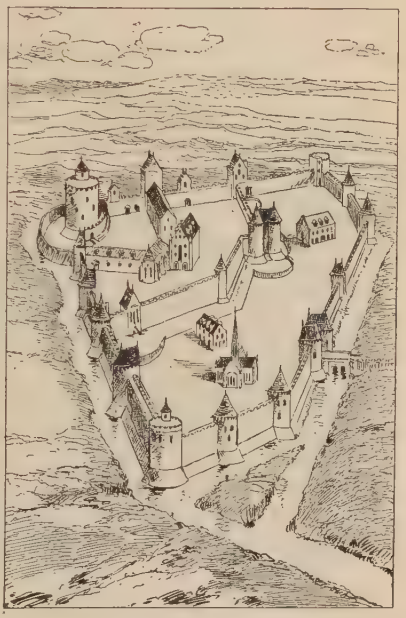
Drawbridge and Portcullis
From Gautier's *La chevalerie*.

In some regions, the Swiss mountains for instance, a large number if not all of the farmers remained free. In the course of time, too, the lot of the dependent worker improved greatly, so that preachers inveighed no less against the extravagance of the peasants than that of the other classes.

MILITARY FEATURE OF FEUDALISM

476. Castles. — The nobleman's residence and the heart and center of the fief was the castle (from the Latin *castellum*, fort). In the beginning the castles were merely wooden blockhouses surrounded by palisades and ditches. But they were soon followed by massive stone structures. The main part of the medieval castle was the keep, a very strong tower, in which originally the lord's family would reside. In case of assault it served as the last refuge. Its walls were often enormously thick, so that a man crawling out of a window would have to creep three

times his length. The stairway was sometimes concealed within these walls. Connected with the keep were other buildings for the servants and the provisions harvested from the lord's fields. Very frequently the castle crowned the top of some steep hill, where it was often surrounded on one or more sides by precipices. If erected in the plain, the castle was protected by a moat, a ditch filled with water, over which usually a drawbridge gave access to the strongly defended gate. (Note the portcullis, a heavy iron grating which could be dropped from above, in the picture on opposite page.) The gate was often flanked by towers from whose slitlike windows bowmen could harass the assailants with their arrows. As the art of building progressed the lord's family no longer dwelt in the narrow and gloomy keep, but in a more elegantly constructed section or in an extra "hall." Our two illustrations show types of such sumptuously built castles.



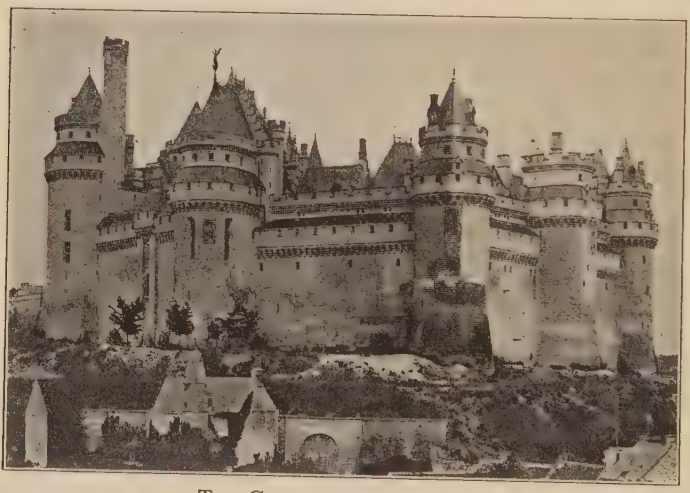
MEDIEVAL CASTLE

This is of the larger sort, with moat and drawbridge. A restoration, from Gautier's *La chevalerie*.

Until the days of gunpowder, feudal castles were virtually impregnable to ordinary attack. They could be captured only by surprise, by treachery, or by famine. Secure of such retreat, a petty lord could sometimes defy even his own sovereign with impunity. Too often the castles became themselves the seats of robber barons who oppressed

the country around them. To-day their gray ruins all over Europe give a peculiar picturesqueness to the landscape, mocking, even in decay, the slighter structures of modern times.

477. Men-at-Arms. — The castles afforded a *refuge* for man and a place of safety for treasure. But during the invasions, the problem in *the field* had been to bring to bay the swiftly moving assailants, — the light horsemen of the Hungarians, or the Danes



THE CASTLE OF PIERREFONDS
It was restored in the fourteenth century.

with their swift boats for refuge. The Frankish infantry had proved too slow. Feudalism met this need also. Each castle was always ready to pour forth its band of trained and faithful men-at-arms (*horsemen in mail, knights*), under the command of the lord, either to gather quickly with other bands into an army under a higher lord, or by themselves to cut off stragglers and hold the fords and passes. The raider's day was over; but meantime the old Teutonic foot militia, in which every freeman had held a place, had given way to an iron-clad cavalry, — the resistless weapon of the new feudal aristocracy.

478. Armor. — In the early feudal period, down to 1100, *the defensive armor* was an iron cap and a leather garment for the body, covered with iron scales. Then came in coats of "chain mail," reaching from neck to feet, with a hood of like material for the head. Still later appeared the heavy "plate armor," and the helmet with visor, which we usually associate with feudal warfare. A suit of this armor weighed fifty pounds or more; and in battle the warrior bore also a weighty shield, besides his long sword and his lance. Necessarily the war horse that carried a heavy man so equipped was a powerful animal; and he too had parts of his body protected by iron plates.

The supremacy of the noble over common men during the Middle Ages (before the invention of gunpowder) **lay mainly in this equipment.** He could ride down a mob of unarmed footmen at will. The peasants and serfs who sometimes followed the feudal army to the field, to slay the wounded and plunder the dead, wore no armor and wielded only pikes or clubs and pitchforks. Naturally they came to be called *infantry;* that is, *boys* (from the Latin *infantes*, children).

479. Private Wars and the "Truce of God." — The nobility was an ever-ready militia, consisting of professional fighters, who thought of war as a most honorable occupation. It is not surprising that they would often refuse to submit to whatever courts there were, and would prefer to settle their own disputes by an appeal to the sword instead of to the law. The lords of the castles claimed the right of private warfare. The result was in many parts of Europe a new general state of insecurity which hindered the growth of industry and severely damaged agriculture. There was a crying need of some antidote, but who would be able to give it?

In the beginning of the eleventh century the bishops of France introduced the *Truce of God.* There was to be no private warfare during the holy seasons of Advent and Lent. During the rest of the year it remained forbidden from Wednesday night of each week until the morning of the following Monday. Thus the Truce of God established about 240 days of peace every year.

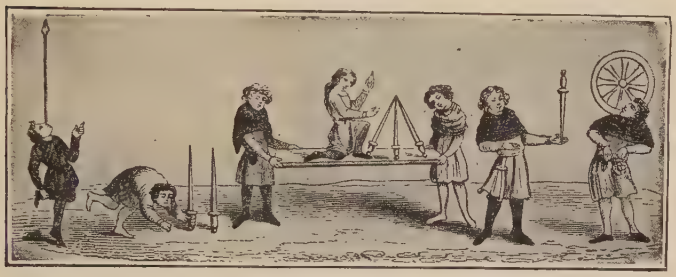
Transgressors were threatened with the severest spiritual penalties. This law found its way into other states. It was probably never completely observed in any region, but even its partial observance greatly tended to diminish the devastations and other evils of private wars. For France it was of the greatest importance. It was, says an historian, "the first step in the making of France," because it curbed "by religious discipline the powerful but turbulent elements of that gifted race."

Some of the Most Influential Medieval Monasteries
Crosses mark monasteries; circles, cities.

CHAPTER XXXIV

LIFE IN THE FEUDAL AGE

There were few towns in western Europe until the twelfth century, and the new town life of that period will be discussed in its place (§§ 604 ff.). Society was mainly rural. It is the work and the home life of this rural society with which this chapter deals. The essential features of medieval life were more or less the same all over feudal Europe. But we have here in view chiefly the conditions and customs of England.



JUGGLERS

From a thirteenth-century manuscript.

LIFE OF THE WORKERS

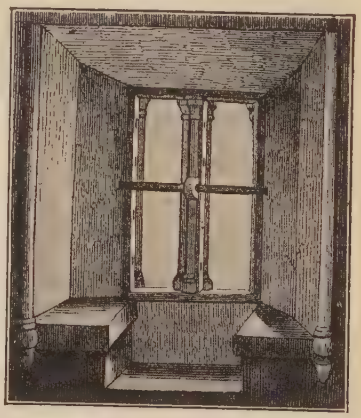
480. The Manor. — The possessions which the knight cultivated through his own villeins (or serfs) formed a manor, the center of which was his castle, grand or modest, according to his means. Rich landowners, however, divided their estates into several manors often widely separated. In each manor they erected *a manor house*, in which the chief steward lived and the crops and provisions were stored. Some manor houses were only more spacious and a little better than the dwellings of the villeins; others were imposing and more similar to the castle

ANCIENT MANOR HOUSE, MELICHOPE, ENGLAND

This shows its present condition. The stairway leading to the upper story is cut into the thick wall. (From Wright's *Homes of Other Days*.)

proper. The serfs and villeins commonly lived together in a village near the manor house. Each village had its church, usually at a little distance, with grounds about it, part of which was used as a graveyard, "God's Acre." At one end of the village street was the lord's smithy, and on some convenient stream the lord's mill. The smith and the miller were usually serfs or villeins, and spent most of their labor on the land, but they were somewhat better housed and more favored than the rest of their class.

Peasant Homes.— The other dwellings were low and narrow, plainly built of wood and clay, and thatched with straw. They had usually no chimney or floor, and often no opening (no window) except the door. They straggled along either side of an irregular lane. Behind each house was its garden patch and its low stable and barn.



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE UPPER WINDOW IN MELICHOPE MANOR HOUSE

This view shows the depth of the wall, — into which, indeed, the stairway is cut.

481. Farming. — The plow land was divided into three great "fields" or rather groups of fields. One group was sown to wheat (in the fall); one to

rye or barley (in the spring); and the third lay fallow, to recuperate. The next year this third field would be the wheat land, while the old wheat field would raise the barley, and so on. This primitive "rotation of crops" kept a third of the land idle.

Every field was divided into a great number of narrow strips, each as nearly as possible a "furrow-long,"[1] and one, two, or four rods wide, so that each contained from a quarter of an acre to an acre. A peasant's holding was about thirty acres, ten acres in each field; and his share in each lay not in one piece, but in fifteen or thirty scattered strips. The lord's land, probably half the whole, lay in strips like the rest. This kind of holding compelled a "common" cultivation. Each man must sow what his neighbor sowed; and as a rule, each could sow, till, and harvest only when his neighbors did. Agriculture was crude. Walter of Henley, a thirteenth-century writer on agriculture, says that threefold the seed was an average harvest, and that often a man was lucky to get back his seed grain and as much again.

HALL OF STOKE CASTLE

Stoke Castle is but a modest manor house of the thirteenth century.

The plow, made almost entirely of wood, required eight oxen, and then it did hardly more than scratch the surface of the ground. (See the picture on page 372.) Carts were few and cumbrous. The distance to the outlying parts of the fields added to the labor of the villagers. There was little or no cultivation of root foods. Potatoes, of course, were unknown. Sometimes turnips and cabbages and carrots were grown in garden plots behind the houses. The wheat and rye in the fields were raised for breadstuffs, and the barley for brewing beer. The most important crop was the wild hay, upon which the cattle

[1] This expression is the origin of our "furlong," about 220 yards.

had to be fed during the winter. Meadowland was twice as valuable as plow land. The meadow was fenced for the hay harvest, but was afterward thrown open for pasture. Usually there were other extensive

A Reaper's Cart Going Uphill

After Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life:* from a fourteenth-century manuscript. The force of men and horses indicates the nature of the road. The steepness of the hill is, of course, exaggerated so as to fit the picture to the space in the manuscript.

pasture and wood lands, where lord and villagers fattened their cattle and swine. It was difficult enough to carry animals through the winter for the necessary farm work. So those to be used for food were killed in the fall and salted down. The large use of salt meat and the little variety in food often caused diseases among the people. The chief luxury among the poor was honey, which took the place of sugar.

Plowing

From an Anglo-Saxon manuscript in the British Museum.

482. Each village was a world in itself. Even the different villages of the same lord had little intercourse with one another. Each produced everything it needed. The lord's bailiff secured from

some distant market such products as could not be supplied at home, *e.g.*, salt, millstones, and iron. Except for this, a village was hardly touched by the great outside world. This shut-in life was monotonous. Yet pictures found in the manuscript books of the time show that it was by no means without its pastimes and amusements. We shall see how wholesome an influence was exercised on it by the Church (§§ 491, 496).

483. The Court of the Manor. — The manor was self-sufficient to a large extent even in the line of government. At its head was the court of the manor, composed of all the men. This court met every three or four weeks. As all the holdings in the manor were hereditary, customs had grown up which it was beyond the steward's and even the lord's power to change. The court decided cases according to this unwritten law. The lord's steward presided and exercised very great power; but all the villagers took part, and the older men had an important voice in declaring "the custom of the manor," a thing which differed in every two manors, and which held the place of town legislation among us. The assembly settled disputes between villagers, imposed penalties upon any who had broken "the customs of the manor," and, from time to time, redistributed the strips of plow land among the village families. In England such gatherings sent their presiding officer and their "four best men" to the larger local assemblies.

Peasants' May Dance
From a miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

LIFE OF THE NOBLES

484. Life in the Castle. — When not actually engaged in war or in some private feud, the nobleman lived in his castle and enjoyed the company of his family. He trained his sons or pages in the military arts and showed interest in their progress. He looked after the administration of his estates. The courts (§ 470, 2) also took up much of his time.

A Victor in a Tournament
After a drawing by Dürer.

The lady was the queen of the castle and herself supervised all the details of the household. The bunch of keys which hung from her belt was the exterior sign of her dominion. But she was well acquainted with the finer arts of embroidery as well, and took pride in displaying the work of her nimble hands. The famous Bayeux Tapestry (see pictures in § 504) is said to have been made by Mathilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; this is rather doubtful, but the fact that it is attributed to her shows what occupations and accomplishments were considered both honorable and desirable in ladies of rank.

485. The favorite sport of this fighting age was a sort of mock battle called a tournament. Kings and great lords gave such entertainments, to win popular applause, on all joyous occasions, — the marriage of a daughter, the knighting of a son, the celebration of a victory.

Every student should know the splendid story of the combats in "the lists of Ashby" in Scott's *Ivanhoe*, and any mere description is tame in comparison. As there portrayed, the news of the coming event

was carried far and near for weeks in advance. Knights began to journey to the appointed place, perhaps from all parts of a kingdom, in groups that grew ever larger as the roads converged. Some came to win fame; some to repair their fortunes, — since the knight who overthrew an opponent possessed his horse and armor and the ransom of his person, as in real war. The knightly cavalcade might be joined or followed by a motley throng journeying to the same destination; among them, jugglers to win small coins by amusing the crowds, and traveling merchants with their wares on the backs of donkeys.

The contests took place in a space (the " lists ") shut off from interference by palisades. The balconies above, gay with streamers and floating scarfs, were crowded with ladies and nobles and perhaps with rich townsmen. Below, a mass of peasants and other common men jostled one another for the better chances to see the contestants. Sometimes two or more days were given to the combats. Part of the time, one group of knights " held the lists " against all comers, affording a series of single combats on horseback and on foot.

486. Chase and Falconry. — Hunting was the second most important sport of the nobles, and it was a monopoly possessed by that class, protected by cruel and bloody custom. Indeed, it was more than sport. The table of every castle depended in large measure upon a steady supply of game. The larger wild animals, — bear, deer, wild boars, — were brought to bay with dogs, and slain by the hunter with spear or short sword. (This was the " chase.") Smaller game, — herons, wild ducks, rabbits, — were hunted with trained hawks. (This was " falconry.") Each castle counted among its most trusted servants a falconer, who saw to the capture of young hawks (falcons) and trained them to fly at game and to bring it back to the master. Many a noble lady, even on a long journey of many days, rode, falcon on wrist, ready at any moment to " cast off " if a game bird rose beside the road.

487. Feasting filled a large part of the noble's life. Meals were served in the great hall of the castle, and were the social hours of the day. Tables were set out on movable trestles, and the household and visitors gathered about them on seats and benches, — the master and his noblest guests at the head. A profusion of food in many courses was carried in from the kitchen across the open courtyard. Peacocks, swans, whole boars, or at least boars' heads, were among the favorite roasts; and huge venison " pies " were a common dish.

At each guest's place was a knife, to cut slices from the roasts within his reach, and a spoon for broths, but no fork or napkin or plate. Each one dipped his hand into the pasties, carrying the dripping food directly to his mouth. Loaves of bread were crumbled up and rolled between

the hands to wipe off the surplus gravy, and then thrown to the dogs under the tables; and between courses, servants passed basins of water and towels. The food was washed down with huge drafts of wine, usually diluted with water. A prudent steward of King Louis IX of France tells us how he "caused the wine of the varlets (at the bottom of the tables) to be well watered, but less water to be put in the wine of the squires, and before each knight [he] caused to be placed a huge goblet of wine and a goblet of water," — a judicious hint which it is to be hoped some knights accepted.

During the midday and evening meals, there was much opportunity for conversation, especially with strange guests, who repaid the hospitality by the news of the districts from which they came. Intervals between courses, too, were sometimes filled with story-telling and song, and with jokes by the lord's "jester" or "fool."

A Court Fool

After a medieval miniature in brilliant colors. Many great lords kept such jesters.

488. Chivalry. — This grim life had its romantic and gentle side, indicated to us by the name *chivalry*. The term at first meant the nobles on horseback (from the French *cheval*, horse), but it came to stand for the whole institution of "knighthood." Chivalry grew up slowly between 1000 and 1200 A.D. *We will look at it in its fully developed form.*

There were two stages in the training of a young noble for knighthood.

(1) At about the age of seven he was sent from his own home into the household of his father's suzerain, or of some other noble friend, to become a *page*. Here, for seven or eight years, with other boys, he waited on the lord and lady of the castle, serving them at table and running their errands. As soon as he was strong enough, he was trained daily, by some old man-at-arms, in riding and in the use of light arms. But his attendance was paid chiefly to some lady of the castle, and by her, in return, he was taught

obedience, courtesy, and a knight's duty to religion and to ladies.

(2) At fourteen or fifteen the page became a *squire* to the lord. He oversaw the care of his lord's horse and the cleaning of his shining armor; he went with his lord to the hunt, armed him for battle, carried his shield, and accompanied him in the field, with special care for his safety.

THE EXERCISE OF THE QUINTAIN

The boys ride, by turns, at the wooden figure. If the rider strikes the shield squarely in the center, it is well. If he hits only a glancing blow, the wooden figure swings on its foot and whacks him with its club as he passes.

After five or six years of such service, at the age of twenty or twenty-one the squire's education was completed. He was now ready to become a knight. Admission to the order of knighthood was a matter of imposing ceremonial. The youth bathed (a symbol of purification), fasted, made his confession to a priest, and then spent the night in the chapel in prayer, "watching" his arms. In the morning there followed solemn

religious services with a sermon treating of knightly duties. Then the household and vassals gathered in the castle yard, along with many visiting knights and ladies. In the background of this gay scene a servant held a noble horse, soon to be the charger of the new knight. The candidate knelt before the lord of the castle, and there took the "vow" to be a brave and gentle knight, to defend the Church, to protect ladies, to succor the distressed, especially widows and orphans. The lord of the castle or some other prominent knight struck him lightly over the shoulder with the flat of the sword, exclaiming, "In the name of God, of St. Michael, and of St. George, I dub you knight." This was the "accolade." Next the ladies of the castle put his new armor upon him, gave him his sword, and buckled on a knight's golden spurs. When thus accoutered the newly made knight vaulted upon his horse and gave some exhibition of his skill in arms and in horsemanship; and the festival closed with games and feasting and the exchange of gifts.[1]

More honored still was the noble who had been dubbed knight by some famous leader on the field of victory, as the reward for distinguished bravery. In such case, there was no ceremony except the accolade.

489. The Christian character of knighthood is clearly shown in the ceremonies of the solemn knighting and the oath taken by the young nobleman. There were never wanting men who carried out their obligations most conscientiously. Thus chivalry exercised a salutary effect upon the views of the higher classes. It put a high ideal, founded on both reason and faith, before the eye of the knight. Gallantry, as long as it was based upon the veneration of the Lady of Ladies, the Virgin Mother of God, could not fail to produce nobleness of sentiment, purity of morals, and elegance of manner. The knight's example was certainly

[1] The knighting of a squire must not be confounded with investiture (§ 467). The accolade transferred no fief or any kind of property. It made the young man a full-fledged noble, who was in no wise bound to him who had dubbed him knight. Investiture with a fief *supposed* knighthood.

wholesome for the lower classes. When, in later times, wealth and with it the level of life rose among all classes, the cultured manners of chivalry were eagerly copied, to the great benefit of society.

490. Drawbacks. — Not every knight's breast harbored these lofty sentiments. Hideous crimes disfigured the record of many a "noble" warrior who had performed great deeds of valor. The lawless "robber knight" who made his living by preying upon the fortune of defenseless wayfarers was, however, chiefly the product of later centuries with completely altered social and economic conditions. The respect for women often degenerated into knight-errantry, an exaggerated and ridiculous cult of the female sex, of which the Spaniard Cervantes, in his famous *Don Quixote*, gives an amusing caricature. The whole system, too, by conferring great privileges upon the nobility, was apt to lead to a contempt of the lower classes. Yet all this should not lead us to a wholesale condemnation of a system which was, at any rate, the best those times could devise, and which in itself was calculated to emphasize the practice of eminently Christian virtues.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE AGES

THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE AT LARGE

491. The Church a Bond of Unity. — We call this great period the age of religious unity. This is not to be taken in a merely temporal sense, as if the fact of such unity had nothing to do with the character of the time. The contrary is the case. The Church represented the unity of the world. Men felt that they were, first and foremost, Christians, and that every one, from the highest to the lowest, was a full-fledged member of a world-wide and organized community. They all professed themselves subject to one and the same authority, that of the pope and the hierarchy of the archbishops and bishops. All believed the same articles of faith. All had the right and duty to receive the same sacraments. The fact of this unity was emphasized in the sermons to which they listened. It was brought home to them by the visits of the bishop, — *e.g.*, for the administration of the Sacrament of Confirmation, — and by the reading from the pulpit of his pastoral letters and ordinances.

What little news found its way from other nations into the town served to confirm implicitly the living knowledge of this fact of universal unity. Even the enemy in war had to be treated as a fellow Christian, or general reprobation would result. The *same language*, too, was used in all the church services in all the various nations, with insignificant exceptions (§ 453). It was this employment of Latin by the Church that secured to the Roman tongue its place as the language of science and thus helped bring about a further unity, namely, that of literary and educational endeavor (§§ 614, 617ff.).

492. The pope was held in great veneration. It was not until the fourteenth century that dissatisfied and revolutionary writers began to deny the infallibility of the head of the Church concerning matters of faith and morals. The pope was assisted from very early times by the *cardinals*, — those priests who were in charge of certain prominent Roman churches. The six bishops of the immediate vicinity of Rome also were called cardinals. For centuries the pope was elected by the clergy of Rome, the cardinals playing an important part in this momentous affair, while the people of Rome signified their adhesion to the choice by acclamation. We shall see how the papal election was reduced to a more definite form (§ 577).

Apart from large voluntary donations sent to Rome, or brought by the numberless pilgrims, the popes drew little revenue from foreign countries. England, however, had promised to pay a certain sum annually, the "Peter's Pence," which name is in our days given to any voluntary contribution toward the support of the Vicar of Christ. After the thirteenth century the popes, on account of peculiar circumstances, were forced to make a more extensive use of their right to tax the *Church property* of other countries. (On papal documents, as briefs and bulls, see *H. T. F.*, page 108.)

ECCLESIASTICAL AUTHORITIES

493. The Bishops and Clergy. Church Property. — Bishops and clergy were not supported by collections as is the case in our country. The establishment of a bishopric or parish required, in the mind of the people, the donation by the king or other rich landowner of as much property as would afford a revenue upon which the incumbent could live conformably with his social rank. In many cases this endowment was very liberal. The same was the case concerning monasteries (§ 410). Much of this property was allodial; but the bishops, and the abbots of the great monasteries, commonly held many feudal possessions (§ 471, 3). This made them the temporal rulers of certain districts and placed them in a new relation to the sovereign.

The lawful way of appointing the bishops was by election. All the priests of the diocese who could be present at the occasion were permitted to participate. Naturally those of the episcopal city, and in particular those attached to the bishop's cathedral,[1] enjoyed greater prestige. Prominent seculars, above all royal officers, were also allowed some influence, and they sometimes usurped rights which had been by no means granted. Soon the

DURHAM CATHEDRAL
Norman style (see § 625). Begun in 1093.

right of electing the bishop was restricted to the chief ecclesiastics of the cathedral, the "canons of the cathedral chapter." We shall see how the lay element was completely eliminated. (On the title "Canon" see *H. T. F.* under "Canon.")

The Clergy below the Bishops. — If we were transported back to a medieval town, the large number of clerics would certainly attract our attention. They appeared on the streets in their long black cassocks. The monks, too, wore their habits in public wherever they went.

[1] *I.e.*, the church in which the bishop is wont to officiate and in which stands his pontifical *cathedra* or throne.

Then, as now, the first step toward the priesthood was the tonsure, a ceremony in which the bishop cuts off some of the hair of the young levite, to signify that he must renounce the vanities of worldly life. Next he receives the four minor orders, as ostiarius (doorkeeper), lector (reader), exorcist, and acolyte (Mass server). Those in minor orders only can at any time recede from the clergy and take up secular pursuits. The higher or major orders are subdeaconship, deaconship, and priesthood. The number of persons who had received the minor orders only was much greater than now. Many of them did not intend to go any further. All the young men who wished to devote themselves to a life of study, and many who strove for posts like those of advisers of lords or other great men, would at least take minor orders.[1] Many of the positions in the administrative offices of the bishops were given to such men, or such as had been ordained deacons. In fact the number of deacons in a bishop's service was often very great.

494. Clerical Privileges. — The clergy and the religious of both sexes enjoyed exemption from the ordinary courts. If they had transgressed, their cases came before special ecclesiastical tribunals. This privilege was based on the consideration that those who in the highest sense take the place of the King of Kings should not be subject to the verdict of others, and that they would be freer in guiding and even rebuking laymen if they knew they would never have to face the same men as their judges. Thus, too, the most educated and cultured class of society was brought before judges more intelligent than those of the secular courts, which had not yet divested themselves completely of the methods of barbarism. The clerical judges were men of talent and education: the uniformity and equity of their decisions were preferred to the caprice and violence which often swayed the royal and baronial justiciaries.

The ecclesiastical court could inflict all kinds of punishments, death alone excepted. As a matter of fact, the punishment of clerical offenders was often rather drastic. The severest was degradation. A degraded priest can, of course, not lose the very character of priesthood which remains indelibly imprinted in his soul. But he may no longer officiate

[1] Hence the word *clerk*, and *clerical labor*, derived its present meaning, while the word *cleric* still denotes a member of the clergy.

in any capacity, nor draw the revenues of any ecclesiastical property, nor enjoy any privilege granted to the clerical state. Degradation is the death penalty for the priest as priest. In its strictest form it is carried out with stern and doleful ceremonies.

The large possessions and privileges connected with ecclesiastical offices sometimes led light-minded men to embrace the clerical state not for the good that could be done in it but to obtain the means for an easy and carefree life. Influential nobles and princes, too, often contrived to provide for their sons by forcing them into well-endowed prelacies. Such men never were a blessing but often a curse for Church and State. On the other hand *the clerical state offered for a long time the only chance for talented boys of the lower classes to rise above their condition.* Many a bishop, abbot, or pope was not ashamed to own his lowly extraction.

495. Ecclesiastical Penalties. — The penalties we speak of here are not the penances imposed in the sacrament of penance upon a contrite and willing penitent, but those inflicted outside that sacrament upon the obstinate offender for certain great crimes. The greatest of these penalties is the *excommunication*, which cuts a man off entirely from the communion of saints. The excommunicate has no share in the good works performed in the Christian world and cannot receive the sacraments. Excommunication may be pronounced by the bishop or the pope. If it is inflicted publicly with the name of the guilty party mentioned, the latter may no longer hear Mass, nor is a priest allowed to say Mass while such a person is in the church. All the faithful are enjoined to avoid intercourse with him, unless they are excused by very grave reasons. In the Ages of Faith it was considered evident that an excommunicated man was unfit to rule over a Christian country.

The interdict, as far as this notion concerns us here, does not affect the people directly. It does not exclude any one from the communion of saints. But it prohibits the administration of sacraments and blessings within a specified territory. It has been inflicted to punish a nation or city for its notorious disobedience or other crimes, and also to force some headstrong ruler to yield to the entreaties of his people.

When pronouncing the interdict on France, in 1200, for the immorality of King Philip Augustus, *Innocent III* said in part: "Let all the churches be closed; let no one be admitted except to baptize infants, or when the priest shall come for the Eucharist and Holy Water for the use of the sick. We permit Mass to be said once a week, on Friday, to consecrate Hosts for the Viaticum. Let the clergy preach on Sundays in the vestibules of the churches. Let them not permit the dead to be interred (*i.e.*, with the ceremonies of the Church), nor their bodies to be placed unburied in the cemeteries." This interdict, though imperfectly observed, produced the desired effect. The voice of the people became so loud that the king had to give up his wicked life.

THE LAITY

496. Religious Life of the People. — The people lived with the Church. They knew the importance of the sacraments. Private prayer was extensively practiced both by the individual and in the families. The ecclesiastical year with its round of Sundays, holydays, and sacred seasons kept elevating ideas ever fresh in the minds of all. People loved to assist at the divine services, and the daily hearing of Mass was a very common practice.

The greatest natural blessing Christ bestowed on mankind is the elevation of matrimony to the dignity of a sacrament and the restoration of the indissolubility of marriage. This, together with the fundamental doctrine of the immortality of every human soul, elevated both the woman and the child and at the same time reëstablished the rights and duties of parents. Christian home life flourished in the Ages of Faith. Parents were respected and loved, and the children were the treasures of the family.

The rest from servile work on Sundays and the numerous holydays was of immense importance for the worker. These were the days of his recreation. And he was wise and Christian enough not to consider the religious duties of his Sunday piety an impediment to his relaxation. They took his mind away from the drudgery of his occupation during the week and filled him with elevating and consoling thoughts.

497. Liberality. — Charity was very widely practiced, not only by the monasteries (§ 408) but by the entire clergy and laity, high and low. Almsgiving was a daily exercise of piety with many. Pope Innocent III inaugurated the establishment of regular hospitals on a large scale. A similar open-handedness showed itself in the contributions for the building of churches. The rich gave their treasures, the poor their labor. Thus many small towns were able to erect large and expensive temples, which are still the objects of our admiration. The jewelry of the ladies was often sold for the benefit of the poor or was changed into sacred vessels. The holy vestments of old churches still testify to the medieval lady's admirable skill in every kind of needlework (§ 484).

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville
Romanesque style. (See § 625.)

498. Penance.—Sins were indeed committed, — grievous, sometimes enormous sins. But deep in the heart of the sinner there remained the Christian faith in all its strength. Sooner or later, at least before his death, the sinner returned seriously and honestly to the God Whom he had never denied, and if still possible made the reparation imposed on him by the priest or bishop. The people much more than now realized the guilt of sin and were more ready to do penance for their trespasses. The confessors in the sacrament of penance and ecclesiastical authorities outside it enjoined greater works of atonement than is now customary.

499. The veneration for the saints and their relics was a characteristic of the times. It came very natural to the medieval mind that he who loves God must needs love those who love Him. Each region and town had its special patron. The

places where the remains of saints reposed were the goal of pilgrimages, which the faithful undertook to atone for sins, to obtain favors, to return thanks for benefits received. The Christian countries were dotted with such shrines. The pilgrims went singly or in groups or in organized processions. Before setting out they received the " pilgrims' blessing " in the church.

York Cathedral

Gothic style (see § 626). Built in its present shape during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is considered the finest ecclesiastical building in England.

In many places they found hospices ready to shelter and care for them. Kings and other prominent persons often established such houses for the pilgrims of their nationality. Thus Irish hospices were spread over the whole continent.

The Middle Ages, though great in certain branches of knowledge, had not much of a critical spirit. With childlike simplicity the people accepted whatever was told them, especially when it seemed to redound to the honor of some saint. Many of the miracle stories, for instance, which were current in those days, are no longer credited by Catholic historians.

THE MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS

500. The monasteries and their inmates were an essential feature of medieval life. It was an age of religious enthusiasm. Many were not satisfied with the fulfilling of the common duties of Christians. They desired to show more generosity to their God and to serve Him more exclusively, or to do more penance for their sins and the sins of the world (§ 406 ff.). Hence the monasteries never lacked recruits ("novices"). Men and women of all ranks, royal personages included, entered the convents and bound themselves by the three vows to another kind of spiritual freedom. The monasteries rose on hilltops, in secluded valleys, or in and near towns. Their midnight bells roused their thousands of inmates from slumber to sing, in the stillness of the night, the praises of their Creator. Their daily work was again interrupted by the hours of prayer, while the very life, as regulated by the rule, meant a constant victory over the cravings of nature. A peculiar dress distinguished the monks from the rest of the people. Commonly it was the attire worn by the poorer classes at the time when the order was founded.

The convents were constantly increasing in number. Rich persons would endow such houses of prayer in thanksgiving for divine favors, or as a memorial for their deceased relatives, or with the intention that their own souls after death be remembered by the inmates. Abbey churches were the resting places of the dead of many a princely family.

The monks and nuns continued to be educators. It was a very common custom that the daughters of the higher classes should receive their schooling in the retirement of a convent. By educating these girls, says a Protestant historian, the nuns did more for the development of genuine womanhood than all the rules of etiquette and the chivalry of the knights and all the effusions of poets could have achieved.

501. New Religious Orders. — In the course of time certain features of religious life were emphasized more explicitly in the foundation of new orders. A Burgundian nobleman founded the order of the *Cistercians*, which devoted itself to the practice of a rigorous penance. It became famous chiefly through St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the preacher of the second crusade and one of the greatest men of the twelfth century. The *Carthusians*, founded by St. Bruno of Cologne, combined the life

in a community with the eremitical or hermit life. The members dwell in separate cells clustered around a court, observe the strictest silence, and assemble only for meals and for services in the church. Once a week the silence is relaxed for a few hours of recreation. St. Norbert wrote the rule of the *Premonstratensians*, in whom he aimed to unite monastic sanctity with the work of the secular clergy. The Cistercians and Premonstratensians were the chief instrument of the Church for the Christianization and civilization of the now German countries east of the Elbe. All these orders had adopted the principle of centralization, that is, their several houses were under one general superior.

This principle had been tried in an earlier period. In the course of time the possessions of the monasteries had increased very much, partly through the incessant labor of the monks, partly by the general appreciation of all property in value, partly through the donations of benefactors (§ 410). This occasionally led to a loss of the primitive spirit. Interference of the secular power with the right of the monks to elect their own abbot had the same sad effect. One of the successful efforts to restore the first fervor was the *Congregation of Cluny* established in 910 A.D. It consisted of a number of Benedictine monasteries united under the "mother-abbey" of Cluny in northern Burgundy. The monks took their vow of obedience not to the head of their own house but to the Abbot of Cluny. The latter had full power to examine into the conditions of each abbey and to set things right if necessary. This congregation, which is much older than the above-mentioned new orders, exercised a widespread influence on the monastic houses and on the reform of the Church at large (§ 576).

Who establishes Religious Orders? Divine Providence often inspires some person with the desire to originate a new monastic organization for a certain purpose. After mature consideration this person gathers around him others filled with the same spirit, and in a private way all live like religious and practice the principles they lay down for themselves. But to become a Religious Order this group must apply to the ecclesiastical authorities. What is commonly called the *approbation* of an Order is really its foundation. The Pope is the supreme superior of all Religious Orders. To him the vow of obedience is made in the last instance, and whatever binding force the Rules or Constitutions have they receive from the Pope's will. *Religious Orders are not private pious cliques but are an integral part of the organization of the Church.* In the case of the oldest Orders approbation was often given by way of fact, that is, by not opposing but by praising them, rather than by official documents.

CHAPTER XXXVI

ENGLAND TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

THE COMING OF THE NORMANS TO ENGLAND

502. The Last Period of Anglo-Saxon England. — We left England, in § 466, as a united country, under Edgar the Peaceful (959–975). After four years *Ethelred the Redeless*,[1] one of the most luckless kings, began a reign (979–1016) which was filled with the ruthless warfare and wanton destruction of Danish invasions. England was conquered completely. *Knut the Great* (Kanute, Cnut), King of Denmark and Norway, ascended the English throne. England thus became for a time part of a Scandinavian empire. Knut ruled, however, as an English king, in the spirit of Alfred the Great. He lived mainly in England, and dismissing his Danish army, rested his power upon the good government he gave to the realm. While in Rome on a pilgrimage, he wrote a noble letter to his English subjects: "I have vowed . . . to rule justly and piously. If I heretofore have done anything unjustly, through the headiness or carelessness of youth, I am ready, with God's help, to amend it utterly."

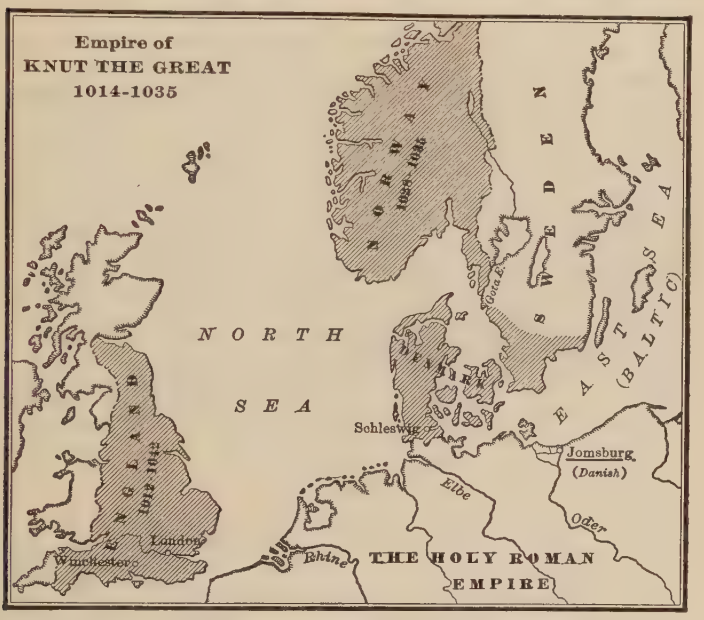
503. Edward the Confessor. First Norman Influence. — Knut the Great was succeeded by his sons, who proved very unlike him in morals and ability. After seven years the northern empire was broken up entirely. The Witan[2] of England restored the Saxon line by electing Edward, son of Ethelred and a

[1] Ethelred means "Noble Council." *Redeless* means "Man without Council," but is sometimes rendered, though wrongly, "the Unready," an epithet which well expresses the disastrous character of his reign.

[2] The "Folk-moot," that is, the meeting of all the free men, survived in local government only. The *Witan* or *Witenagemot* was an assembly of the "wise men" of the kingdom, namely, the great secular lords and the bishops and other prominent ecclesiastics.

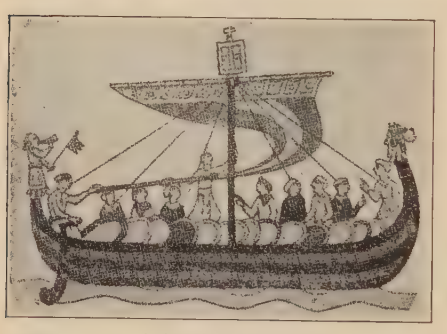
Norman princess. Much of his life had been spent in Normandy. Save a war with Scotland his reign was free from foreign complications. He strove to promote the welfare of his people by a strict administration of justice, the abolition of heavy taxes, and an open-handed generosity to the poor.

Edward the Confessor encouraged the spread in England of the reformatory ideas of Cluny (§ 501). For this purpose he promoted



Norman clerics to important English bishoprics and abbeys. Normans were employed, too, in minor administrative positions. Thus an immigration of Normans began under his reign. This, as well as the fact that not all his appointees justified the confidence placed in them, was a pretext of much trouble and of open rebellion. Edward lacked the necessary firmness to suppress these disturbances. Still, in spite of his weakness the people long after clamored for the "laws and customs of good King Edward."

504. THE NORMAN CONQUEST. — Edward the Confessor left no son. The English Witan chose *Harold*, the most powerful of the Saxon noblemen, though not of royal descent, for their king. He was said to have been recommended by Edward. But *William, Duke of Normandy*, claimed the throne on the ground of distant relationship and of a promise from Edward, and because Harold on some former occasion had taken an oath of fealty to him. He had, moreover, convinced the Pope that he would be a better champion of ecclesiastical discipline than Harold, whose past did indeed not guarantee much zeal for the true welfare of the Church. William now prepared to make his claim good by arms.



A Norman Ship

From the Bayeux Tapestry. The Bayeux Tapestry is a linen band 230 feet long and 29 inches wide, embroidered in colored worsteds, with 72 scenes illustrating the Norman Conquest. It was a contemporary work. (See § 484.) The banner is supposed to be the one blessed by the Pope.

"Harold, the Last of the Saxons," is, however, a gallant figure, whose tragic reign of forty weeks and one day adds a touching interest to the close of Saxon kingship. He was threatened from two sides. His own brother, Tostig, Earl of Northumbria, had been driven into exile by a popular rising. Harold refused to restore him. So Tostig stirred up Harold Hardrada, the adventurous king of Norway and one of the most romantic heroes in history, to attack England on the north, while William of Normandy prepared to invade from the south. The Norwegian host, a fleet of three hundred ships, landed first, on the coast of Yorkshire. Harold was in the south, to meet the even more formidable force from across the Channel.

Hurrying northward with his trusted household troops, English Harold overthrew and slew Norwegian Harold, in a desperate and brilliant battle at *Stamford Bridge*.

But meantime William had made his landing on the south coast near Hastings. Back hastened Harold, by forced marches, with his exhausted and depleted troops. The jealous nobles of the old Danelagh held aloof. Only the knights and husbandmen of Kent and Wessex rallied nobly to his banner. By a stratagem

Battle of Hastings
From the Bayeux Tapestry.

he forced William to an attack, which brought on the battle of *Hastings* or *Senlac*, one of the world's decisive struggles. It gave a complete victory to William the Conqueror.

All day long the battle raged between two civilizations. The English strength lay in the mail-clad family guards of the king. They wielded huge battle-axes, and fought on foot, shoulder to shoulder, the king among them, behind a wall of overlapping long shields. *This was a splendid force to resist attack.* The Norman strength lay in their mounted knights and men-at-arms, assisted by bowmen, — *magnificent troops to make an onset.*

Charge after charge of Norman horse failed to break the Saxon shield-wall. William's furious valor and personal strength, which had already won him fame on many a bloody field as the most terrible knight in

Christendom, showed as never before, mingled with cool generalship and quick resourcefulness. Three times a horse was killed under him. Once his troops broke, and the cry went up, "The Duke is slain." William tore off his helmet, to show his face, shouting with mighty voice, "I live; and by God's help I shall conquer!"

Finally, at three in the afternoon, by feigning flight, William drew part of the English troops from their impregnable position, in spite of Harold's orders, and then turning upon their disordered ranks, he rode them down in masses. Still the household troops stood firm about the king, and at six the fight swayed back and forth as stubbornly as ever about the dragon standard. But the duke brought his archers to the front, to pour their deadly shafts into the massed English array; and, as the sun went down, an arrow pierced Harold's eye. The combat closed, in the gathering dusk, with the slaughter of his followers over his corpse. William was left master of the kingdom.

The Norman Conquest was one of the chief turning points in English (and American) history. Never since has a conquering people established itself in England. Roman, Saxon, and Dane had held the island in turn. Each had brought his peculiar contribution to its development. Now the Normans had conquered, because they were better equipped for warfare than the Anglo-Saxons, and better disciplined. This same superiority they were to show in government.

THE FOUR NORMAN KINGS

505. William I, the Conqueror (1066–1087).— After his victory, William went through the form of an election by the English Witan (§ 630, note). He proved a stern but just ruler. Even his enemies cannot help praising the "good peace" he gave to the country, "so that a man might fare his realm with a bosom full of gold." His government, however, was much more systematized than had been the methods used by the Anglo-Saxon kings, and it required a larger income. Hence he demanded higher taxes, which he levied with a severity unknown before his day. The estates forfeited by those who had fought against him he bestowed on Norman nobles. Several risings against him only increased the number of these newcomers. Also ecclesiastical positions were preferably given to Normans. He ruled, however, always with great regard for English customs,

and it cannot be denied that the innovations he made, although their introduction was not carried through without hardship, were for the true benefit of the country. To acquaint himself with the resources of the kingdom and the dues payable to the king, he had an accurate census taken, the results of which are recorded in the "Domesday Book," a source from which we get more information about England than we have of any other country of that time. The population numbered some 1,200,000 inhabitants, of whom one tenth, called "burgesses," dwelt in "boroughs." The king's feudal army contained about 5000 knights.

Statue of William the Conqueror at Falaise, His Birthplace

506. William II. — William the Conqueror had ruled both England and Normandy. In his will he gave Normandy to his eldest son Robert, and England to his second son William II, called *Rufus* (the Red) (1087–1100). William II, Rufus, was a bad ruler, who made enemies of nearly all Englishmen. "In his days all justice sank, and all unrighteousness arose." He was killed mysteriously and interred without the ceremonies of the Church.

507. Henry I (1100–1135), the youngest son of the Conqueror, issued a charter of liberties, which a hundred years later was to become the model for a much more important document. By force and intrigues he wrested Normandy from his good-natured brother, Duke Robert, and acquired the County of Maine in

France. From his time (if not from earlier times) dates the *King's Court*, composed of a few able men, which supervised the finances, and also served as a supreme court of justice. From time to time Henry I sent members of this royal court into distant parts of the realm to look after his interests and administer justice in his name. The people gave to Henry I the honorable title of "Lion of Justice," though he ruled much like an absolute monarch.

Under William II and Henry I the "contest about lay investiture" was fought out in England (§ 582).

508. Stephen. — After Henry I's death his nephew Stephen secured the election. He was weak by nature, and his reign was distracted by civil wars with the supporters of Henry I's daughter, Mathilda. Feudal anarchy seemed to have seized at last upon the land. The contemporary chroniclers bewail the misery of the age with bitter phrases: —

"Every powerful man made his castles, and when they were built they filled them with devils and evil men; they put men in their dungeons for their gold and silver, and tortured them with pains unspeakable . . . and it was commonly said that Christ and his saints slept."

Observe that the three successors of William I all had rivals for the throne, and so were kept in some measure in dependence upon the nation.

NORMAN INFLUENCE

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

The talent for organization possessed by William the Conqueror showed itself both by leaving intact those English political institutions which seemed to work well, and by altering those that were capable of improvement.

509. Local government was not much interfered with by William. At this time England was divided into some forty *shires*, also named "counties" after the coming of the Normans. At the head of the shire was the *sheriff* (shire-reeve) appointed by the king. The shire fell into subdivisions called *hundreds*, and the hundred was made up of *townships* or *villages*. Many villages,

among them the chief village of nearly every shire, had grown into fortified places, called *boroughs*, with special royal privileges (§ 505). A borough in many regards was like a hundred. Each of these units had its courts, consisting of landowners and certain other personages. The court of those days dealt with all sorts of governmental business, not merely judicial. These courts represented old Teutonic institutions in an improved shape (§ 390). On the whole, the Normans did not change this machinery of local government, except that they gave greater power to the sheriff, the king's representative in the shire.

510. Feudalism in England. — As on the continent, Anglo-Saxon feudalism had grown from old Teutonic institutions under the influence of the peculiar conditions of the land. But it was neither so general nor so minutely organized as on the continent. Serfdom, too, existed throughout the land. The difference between serfs proper and villeins was still clearly marked. In consequence of the Danish invasions many owners of middle-sized estates and many free villagers preferred the safety of vassalship or serfdom to their unprotected freedom, and so through voluntary surrender (commendation, § 468) both feudalism and serfdom were on the increase.

William the Conqueror introduced the fully developed feudalism of the continent. He stripped it, however, of some undesirable features. His chief innovations were these: —

(*a*) Upon the plea that the whole people had not willingly received him, he confiscated all the land and let it out as feudal holdings, partly to the present owners, partly to his Norman supporters. Thus all landowners became the king's direct vassals. Allodial tenure was wiped out. The king was the owner of all land. (Even at present, in theory, all English landowners are tenants of the crown.)

(*b*) Every landholder, large or small, had to take the oath of fealty directly to the king, though he might be another lord's immediate vassal (§ 471, 1). Thus, in case of rebellion, every participant could be punished for high treason.

(*c*) He also took care that the properties held by each of his great vassals were scattered in different counties, so that the vassals could not easily assemble their forces for any treasonable attack.

511. The Great Council. — Under the Anglo-Saxon kings the great state assembly was the *Witan*, or *Witenagemot*, consisting of the most prominent men, bishops and lay lords, whether they were the king's vassals or not. The Witan now gave way to a feudal assembly, the **Great Council,** to which the king's vassals were summoned. Since all the prominent nobles, including the ecclesiastics, had become royal vassals, the same men who formerly had made up the Witenagemot now became members of the Great Council, though they assembled according to another principle.

These Norman innovations placed a great deal of power in the hands of the king, and secured at the same time the freedom of local institutions. In no country of the continent were royal power and individual liberty so happily blended.

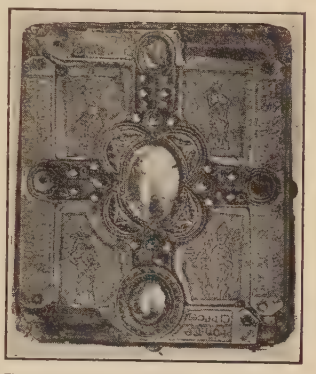
NORMAN INFLUENCE ON THE CHURCH

512. Better Bishops and More Vigorous Religious Life. — In spite of the zeal of Edward the Confessor, the Church was still suffering from the anarchy of prior reigns, and a number of ecclesiastics were unworthy of their positions. William put able Normans into their places. The See of Canterbury, the first of the country, which for nineteen years had been held by the illiterate and immoral Stigand, obtained one of its greatest archbishops in the person of the Norman monk Lanfranc. The Reform of Cluny (§ 501) began to spread vigorously. To comply fully with the demands of the Canon Law (§ 494), *separate ecclesiastical courts* were established. William retained, however, the decisive influence upon the appointment of all prelates, and placed some restrictions on the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction. And though the active connection with Rome received great encouragement from him, he refused to give up the practice of investing bishops in the manner prohibited by Pope Gregory VII

(§ 578, 582). Taken all in all, William the Conqueror's action on the life of the Church of England redounded greatly to its advantage. "The Normans," says even a partisan of Harold, "revived the observances of religion which were everywhere grown lifeless."

GENERAL RESULTS OF NORMAN INFLUENCE

513. Arts and Civilization. — The Norman newcomers formed a sort of leaven in the mass of the English people. They brought with them a better knowledge of fine arts. The castles, churches, and abbeys they built dwarfed the modest structures of the Anglo-Saxons. Their finer manners, their grander thoughts, their greater respect for learning, shown above all by the Norman clergy, roused the admiration of the English and were in due time assimilated by them. The fact that Normans held the first positions in Church and State gave special weight to their example. Through the Normans England entered into a more lively intercourse, both intellectual and religious, with the continent, an intercourse which was to continue long after the Normans had ceased to be a distinctive part of the population. In the beginning the Normans had looked down upon the natives with contempt. Two or three generations later their descendants were Englishmen like the rest of the people.



ELEVENTH-CENTURY COVER OF A MANUSCRIPT BOOK

Two of the precious stones which once adorned it are still in place. Note the metal strips, the numerous minor stones, and the figures in the spaces around the center. Such elaborate covers are not rare. Wooden plates took the place of what is cardboard in present-day book covers.

514. The Language. — For a long time the language of the Normans, Norman-French, remained the language of the royal

court. After the Normans had become Englishmen, the Saxon tongue, the speech of the masses of the people, won out, though not without undergoing great changes. It dropped most of its numerous endings, discarded many of its words, and in return received an abundant supply of French, or rather Latin-French, words and idioms. Thus began the language in which Shakespeare was to write his immortal plays.

HENRY II, THE FIRST PLANTAGENET KING (1154–1189)

ACCESSION AND CHARACTER OF HENRY II

515. The Coming of the Plantagenets. — We left England engulfed in civil war between King Stephen and Mathilda, the daughter of Henry I (§ 508). Mathilda had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, a territory south of Normandy in France. Their son Henry raised a claim to the throne of England. Henry was already a mighty prince: through his mother, Mathilda, he possessed Normandy and Maine; from his father he inherited Anjou and Touraine; by marriage he acquired Aquitaine, that is, all the land from the lower Loire down to the neighborhood of the Pyrenees. When he appeared in England at the head of a strong army, King Stephen, whose son had just died, came to an understanding with him through the mediation of Theobald, the aged Archbishop of Canterbury. Stephen adopted him as his son and successor, and after Stephen's death, in the same year, Henry succeeded without opposition, as *Henry II.* Henry II and his descendants are known as the *Anjou* kings, or the *Angevines* (this word being a medieval Latin adjective referring to Anjou). Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry II's father, used to wear a twig of the broom plant (*planta geneta*) with its yellow flower on his helmet, and this habit gave to him and his family the surname of *Plantagenet.*

516. Henry II's Relation to England. — Although sovereign King of England, Henry II remained vassal of the crown of France for his extensive French possessions. (See the map facing page 420.) These provinces, more than half of what is now France,

made him mightier than the King of France himself. In fact, he thought of himself chiefly as a French prince with important possessions in the neighboring island. He spent the greatest part of his time, too, on the continent. None the less he proved one of the greatest, and in spite of his blunders, one of the most beneficent of all the English kings.

Henry's stout body and broad shoulders rose from bowed legs, and were topped by a bull neck and a round head with fiery face and bulging eyes. He had a memory that forgot no detail of business, a strong will, and great physical strength which enabled him to keep tirelessly at his task while servants and attendants dropped with fatigue. He delighted in the conversation of the learned. Yet he was grossly immoral, liable to descend to the basest artifices if they furthered his ends, and exceedingly jealous of every kind of authority unless it came from himself or was at least subservient to his will.

POLITICAL REFORMS OF HENRY II

517. Henry II first restored order. The civil war between Stephen and the followers of Mathilda had brought swarms of foreign troopers into the country, who were ravaging at will. The king drove them out or cut them down. He next caused the new castles, which had been erected contrary to law and had often been strongholds of robbery and oppression, to be destroyed.

518. The king strengthened his own position by enforcing again the *general duty of military service.* All men who were no lord's vassals had to be ready to join his forces whenever summoned by the royal sheriffs. He dispensed his immediate vassals from furnishing their quota of warriors on condition that they paid a certain amount of money, called *scutage* (shield-money). By the former law he secured a *militia,* an army that was independent of his vassals. By the second he was enabled to hire trained professional soldiers who were more efficient than the feudal armies. His vassals, too, liked the arrangement, because it liberated them from a burdensome duty. The subvas-

sals, generally known as "knights," now had more time to devote to the farming of their land, and to the business of the various popular courts.

519. Reform of the Courts of Justice. — (*a*) Henry I had established the King's Court to act as a supreme court of the land. But it had simply become a feudal court, open only to the great royal vassals. Henry II made it again accessible to all free Englishmen, in particular to those in danger of being dispossessed by their lords.

(*b*) He divided England into six districts, and sent into each of them at stated times three judges from the King's Court. This was the beginning of the institution of the *circuit judges*, which did much to unify the English law and the methods of procedure in the courts, and brought the king's judicial assistance, as it were, to the very door of every Englishman. It also helped to increase the royal revenues, because the circuit judges were in the first place bound to look after the king's financial interests in every county, and because certain fees were demanded for taking up cases in the court. No other country could boast of such a system. Purged of abuses the circuit courts are still part of the English and American judiciary.

520. Introduction of Trial by Jury. — In most of the civilized countries the court trials are generally carried on with the assistance of a *jury;* that is, there are besides the judges twelve other men selected from among the citizens. They listen to the witnesses and thereupon answer the question whether, from the evidence presented in the court, the accused person is guilty or not. By doing so they really act as judges, though they are not so called. If they declare the man guilty, the judge imposes the penalty. These men are styled *jurors* or *jurymen*, which means persons that have sworn, namely, to pronounce a just verdict. They are, however, the *petty jury*. Preceding the trial there has been the action of the *grand jury*. The grand jury does not decide whether or not a man is guilty, but simply whether it seems advisable to put him before the court and the petty jury.

This system, under one form or another, is very old. Traces of it are found even in the ancient Teutonic customs. But the beginnings of its present form date from Henry II. His Norman predecessors already had appointed similar boards to decide cases in which the king's property interests were involved. Henry II extended it to the *civil cases* (questions of property) of all the freemen. He also ordered that in *criminal cases* such juries should present suspected offenders to the court for trial. (This is what our grand juries do now.) Thus persons too mighty to be accused by individuals could be haled into court. The trial was still carried on by ordeal (§ 400). But when the ordeals were more and more abandoned and even condemned by the Church, a smaller jury was summoned for the trial. This trial jury at first acted both as witnesses and as judges. But since they were allowed to call in other witnesses, it became the rule for them to act as judges only. — In spite of many undeniable shortcomings this system is rightly considered as a guarantee of popular liberty and a means of inspiring the people with confidence in the verdicts of the courts.

HENRY II AND THE CHURCH

521. The Constitutions of Clarendon. — Henry II could brook no power that did not emanate from himself. The independence and privileges of the clergy were a thorn in his side. He intended to secure once for all the so-called " rights " which his predecessors, contrary to Canon Law and in spite of the protest of Church authorities, had at various times usurped and which were styled " the royal customs." He made his chancellor, Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury and thereby Primate of England. Thomas had been the king's trusted friend and adviser, and a gay companion at the banquet table and in the hunt. But with his episcopal consecration he became a changed man — he became *St. Thomas*. He rigidly removed all luxury, wore a hair-shirt next his body at all times, and observed most conscientiously the rules which regulate a bishop's life. The king, to his utter

surprise, found in him a fearless champion of the rights of the Church.

A cleric had committed an offense against the king, and Henry II thought that no condign punishment had been given in the ecclesiastical court. In his wrath he resolved to put the relation between Church and State upon an entirely new basis. A Great Council was called and the king laid before it the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, in which were embodied what purported to be the "royal customs." The council was to declare them the law of the land.

The chief points were these: (*a*) The revenues of bishoprics, abbeys, etc., were to go to the king from the death of the incumbent until the election of his successor. (*b*) The election was to take place in the king's chapel, with the advisers appointed by the king, and not before the king himself had summoned the electors. (*c*) The royal courts were to define whether a criminal case belonged to the secular or ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and if found guilty in the Church court, the criminal was to be tried again in the secular court.[1] (*d*) No direct vassal of the king or any of his household officers should be excommunicated without the king's permission. (*e*) No bishop or archbishop should go beyond the sea without the king's permission (to prevent complaints being made about the king in Rome). — It is evident that with the enactment of such laws the Church in England would be completely at the king's mercy, though the possibility that he might give the desired permissions still kept it from an accomplished schism.

522. The Opposition of St. Thomas. — In the council the bishops naturally shrank from consenting to such enslavement. Henry in great rage had the door of the next apartment thrown open. There they beheld a body of knights with drawn swords, waiting for the signal to massacre the prelates. To avert blood-

[1] This was greatly to the interest of the judges themselves, because the principal share of the fees, fines, etc., went to them. See also § 494 on "clerical privileges" and § 572.

shed the primate now yielded to the entreaties of bishops and lords and put his name to the fatal document. But he repented directly, wrote to Rome for absolution, and at another session of the Great Council retracted publicly and solemnly. He was the only bishop that did so. The king's anger was terrible. Thomas fled to France, while Henry seized his ecclesiastical and private property. Even his innocent relatives and friends with their whole families, about four hundred persons, were robbed of all their possessions, driven out of the country, and forced to swear that they would go to the primate and implore him to satisfy the king. It must be said to Henry's credit that he does not seem to have sided with the anti-pope against Alexander III (§ 559).

The urgings of Alexander III and the fear of spiritual punishments finally prevailed on the king to come to some understanding with St. Thomas and to allow him to return to Canterbury. But his former sentiments soon awoke again. Four of his knights took his angry words as a desire to see the troublesome prelate done away with. They hastened to Canterbury and killed Thomas in his cathedral, December 29, 1170. Henry disclaimed having given any such order, and of his own accord did public penance at the tomb of the martyr and *canceled the obnoxious Constitutions of Clarendon. The martyr's death was the victory of his cause.*

The people of England felt that St. Thomas had fought for their own liberty in upholding the rights of the Church. He became one of the most popular saints and his tomb the goal of countless pilgrimages in England and from abroad.

523. Henry II's Expedition to Ireland. — After the battle of Clontarf in 1014 (§ 451, 2) the Danes made no more inroads into Ireland. Unfortunately the victory brought no political unity. There was almost incessant conflict between the several tribes or parts of tribes.

Shortly before 1170, Dermot McMurrough, king of the province of Leinster, " who combined zeal for founding churches and encouraging learning with a ferocious cruelty and licentious-

ness," was forced to flee the country. With the permission of Henry II he obtained the assistance of some **Anglo-Norman** knights, chief of whom was Richard Strongbow. By their aid Dermot repossessed himself of his kingdom and allowed his friends to occupy Dublin and its environs. Both the rapacity of these adventurers and jealousy of their success impelled Henry

CLONMACNOISE, IRELAND

(From an Irish wood engraving.) Once a famous monastery and school, founded in 544. The round towers served as a refuge during time of invasions. Their door was commonly high above the ground. Note the "Celtic Cross." Many personages great in Irish history rest under these tombstones.

to cross over himself, 1171. He fought no battle but redressed some grievances of the natives and tried to win them by the display of his army, by condescension, and by the splendor of his court. An assembly of Irish chieftains at Waterford recognized him in some vague terms as their lord. He left the following spring and almost his first act was the reconciliation with the Pope and the penance at St. Thomas' tomb

524. The Pale. — Again the Irish failed to effect a strong union of their forces, though the Anglo-Normans from now on made little or no progress. The latter retained their hold on a district in the east of Ireland with the city of Dublin. This was subsequently called *the Pale.* Its boundaries shifted as the power of the invaders increased or relaxed. But the English king continued wearing the title of *Lord of Ireland.*

525. The closing years of Henry II were darkened by domestic troubles. The feudal lords tried to cast off royal control. A powerful coalition was formed between this English feudal force, the king of Scotland, and the king of France. Henry's splendid generalship crushed his foes in detail; and England had seen its last great uprising of feudalism against the national government.

But Philip II of France, who had stirred them to treason, now intrigued ceaselessly with the remaining sons, Richard and John. The dying king was driven to yield to their demands. As a condition of peace, a list of conspirators whom he was required to pardon was handed him. At the head stood the name of John, his favorite son. Indeed his partiality for John had driven Richard into arms against him. Thus John's name in the list of traitors was the last blow. The king sank into a deep melancholy. "Now," he said, "I care no more for myself or the world." Seven days later, when he felt that his end was near, he had himself carried into church, received the last sacraments, and died at the foot of the altar.

THE MAGNA CARTA

526. Richard I (1189–1199). — The great officers who had been trained under Henry II carried on his system of government with little change through the reigns of his two tyrannical sons. *Richard the Lion-Hearted* cared mainly for military glory. He was a valiant, impetuous knight, but a weak statesman and ruler. Of the eleven years of his reign, he spent only seven months in England and these solely to get money for foreign wars. Among other

things *he sold many charters of liberties to the rising towns.* He is remembered as one of the leaders of the third crusade (§ 594).

527. John Lackland (1199–1216), was an abler man than his brother, but a more despicable character. Three events mark his reign, — defeats by France, by the Pope, and by his subjects. (1) Abroad, he lost Normandy and all northern France to the French king. (2) After a long quarrel with Pope Innocent III, John promised to redress the grievances of his subjects, and though

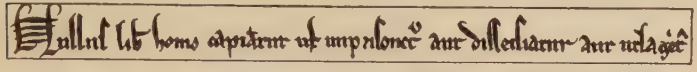
Opening Lines of the Magna Carta

(Reduced facsimile.) The characters in the margin are supposed to be the coats of arms of barons who signed as witnesses, but they are a later embellishment to the document.

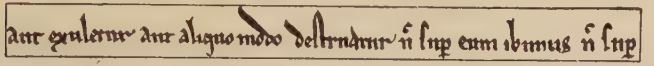
not compelled by the Pope, he even surrendered England to the Pope to receive it back in a kind of semi-vassalage. (3) England wrested from his hands a charter of liberties known as *Magna Carta* (the Great Charter). This third event demands fuller notice.

528. MAGNA CARTA. — Toward the close of his reign, John's oppression and harsh exactions brought all classes of Englishmen to unite against him. In 1213, while he was warring in France

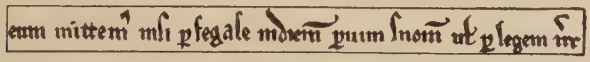
two mass meetings of barons and knights *and townsmen* gathered, to discuss their grievances. Amid stern enthusiasm, Stephen Langton, whom the Pope had made Archbishop of Canterbury, brought before one of these gatherings the long-forgotten charter of Henry I. On this basis, Langton and the leaders of the nobles then drew up the demands of the meeting. John at first refused



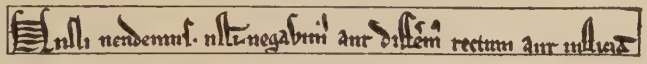
Nullus liber homo capiatur, vel imprisonetur, aut dissaisiatur, aut utlagetur,
No free man shall be taken, or imprisoned, or dispossessed, or outlawed,



aut exuletur, aut aliquo modo destruatur, nec super eum ibimus nec super
or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him nor upon



eum mittemus, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum vel per legem terrae.
him send, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.



Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus, aut differemus, rectum aut justiciam.
To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay, right or justice.

SECTIONS 39 AND 40 OF MAGNA CARTA

The bars are facsimiles of the writing in the charter, with the curious abbreviations of the medieval Latin. Below each line is given the Latin in full with a translation.

even to look at the document. But a mighty army of two thousand knights, supported by the townsmen of London arrayed in their "trainbands," marched against him ("the Army of God and Holy Church"). John was deserted by all but a few foreign mercenaries; and, *June 15, 1215,* at a meadow of the Thames called *Runnymede,* he was forced to sign the Great Charter, — the "first great document in the Bible of English liberties."

The charter, which claimed only to state the old liberties of Englishmen, not to establish new ones, *set the law of the land above the king's will.* True, in some other countries, during the Middle Ages, the great vassals extorted charters of liberties *for themselves* from their kings. But the peculiar features of this charter are: (1) the barons promised to their dependents the same rights they demanded for themselves from the king; and (2) special provisions looked after the welfare of townsmen and even of villeins.

The wording, necessarily, belongs to a feudal age; and the greater part of the document is concerned with the privileges of feudal vassals. The charter defined precisely the "aids" to which suzerains were entitled, — and so put an end to extortion. It declared that the king could raise no scutage or other unusual "aid" without the consent of the Great Council of England. All vassals of the king had a right to attend this council; and so this provision established the principle of no taxation without the consent of the taxed. It declared an accused man entitled to speedy trial, — and so laid the foundation for later laws of "habeas corpus." It affirmed that no villein, by any fine, should lose his oxen or plow, his means of livelihood; and so foreshadowed our very modern laws providing that legal suits shall not take from a man his home or his tools. As time passed, and as a new society and new needs grew up, men read new meanings into the old language and made it fit the new age.

The charter became at once the standard of freedom for the whole nation. In the next two centuries, English kings were obliged to "confirm" it thirty-eight times; its principles and some of its wording have passed into the constitution and laws of every American state.

529. Henry III, son of John Lackland, came to the throne when very young. A relatively small part of his long reign was marked by war. The nobles who could not enrich themselves by booty turned their attention to the improvement of their states. Foreign commerce, too, had a chance to revive and was encouraged by legal enactments. However, Henry, though personally without blame, was not a strong ruler. His favoritism and his financial demands for questionable purposes led to an uprising

under the mighty **Simon of Montfort,** who for a year governed ably in the name of the captive king. To strengthen his position Simon summoned the famous **Parliament of 1265,** which marks an important step in the development of that body. (See § 533.) This was the greatest event in Henry III's reign. When liberated, after Simon had fallen in the battle of Evesham, 1265, Henry had to promise to rule according to the system of Simon of Montfort.

EDWARD I (1272–1307)

530. Character of Edward I. His Wars. — For two centuries after the Conquest, every king had been a foreigner. *Edward was English to the core.* He had even the golden hair of the old Saxon kings, and a favorite Saxon name, as well as a thoroughly English character. In his campaigns he proved himself a good general. A passionate temper hurried him sometimes, in his younger days, into the cruel sack of conquered towns. But he was quick to repent, — at times in a burst of tears; and in his old age he once said, "No man ever asked mercy of me and was refused." His shield bore for its device the motto, "Keep troth." He was a good son, a tender and wise father, a faithful and devoted husband, and one of England's noblest kings.

Edward I wished ardently to unite the whole island of Britain into one kingdom. In this he won only partial success. However, he completed the conquest of *Wales;* and, to conciliate the Welsh people, he gave to his eldest son the title *Prince of Wales,* which has been borne ever since in England by the heir to the crown. For a time, too, *Scotland* seemed to submit to Edward's arms and statesmanship; but the hero, *William Wallace,* and the patriot king, *Robert Bruce,* roused the Scotch people again to a stubborn and splendid struggle for national independence; and *the two halves of the island remained separate kingdoms for some centuries more.*

The true fame of Edward does not rest on his wars, but on his work for the wholesome development of the great central institutions of English political life: the King's Court and the

Great Council; and on the measures he took to do away with some more undesirable features of feudalism.

531. Edward I's Reforms. — 1. The King's Court, first formed by Henry I (§ 507), restored and endowed with greater powers by Henry II (§ 519), consisted of men of the king's own choice for the purpose of attending to various and very different kinds of business. Edward I divided it into three sections, each devoting its work to one kind of business.

(*a*) *The Court of Common Pleas* was the supreme court in *civil matters*, that is, those referring to property. It received and handled the appeals in these matters that came from the circuit courts.

(*b*) *The King's Bench* — so called from the fact that this part of the King's Court was accustomed to take its place on a certain bench in the common hall — was the supreme court in *criminal matters*.

(*c*) *The Exchequer* did the work handled in our country by the Treasury Department. Its members, the "Lords of the Exchequer," originally sat around a "chequered" table (marked off into small squares for the convenient counting of money) — hence its name.

Unquestionably this division of labor made for a much greater efficiency of the three divisions. This was in particular the case with the Court of Common Pleas and the Court of the King's Bench. The country had advanced in civilization, and its laws had become more detailed, making a special knowledge necessary. Law was now a branch of higher studies, and was no longer exclusively pursued by clergymen. The lay jurists (lawyers) increased in number, and eventually monopolized the supreme courts. — For centuries these courts remained the main factors in the English judiciary.

532. Edward I's Reforms. — 2. Modification of English Feudalism. — Edward I greatly restricted the holding of courts of justice by feudal lords. This meant an increase of the power and influence of the regular royal and local courts. Besides, he

forbade the great lords to sublet or sell any of their estates so as to make the new holder their own vassal; the holder was to become vassal of the next higher lord, eventually the king. This naturally increased the number of "tenants-in-chief" of the king and diminished the resources of the lords. He declared all gentlemen who had a revenue of twenty pounds a year knights, thus increasing the number of this much-honored class and destroying the exclusiveness of the feudal order. He finally revived the national militia, which consisted of all able-bodied men. The poorest had to provide themselves at least with the long bow, which had ever been a popular weapon but had never been introduced into regular warfare. It was to play an important part in England's future wars.

533. Edward I's Reforms. — 3. THE PARLIAMENT. — As noted in § 511, the Saxon Witenagemot (Witan) had given way to the Great Council, which was a feudal assembly of the king's immediate vassals ("tenants-in-chief," barons), both ecclesiastical and secular. The members were in no way elected or "sent," but each one came in his own name as a royal vassal. Those, however, who held small fiefs soon failed to appear. The Great Charter (Magna Carta) prescribed that only the great barons were to be summoned individually; the numerous small vassals were notified by a writ published by the sheriff in the court of each county. Still the small barons failed to appear.

In the troubles under Henry III a new device was tried successfully. Simon of Montfort, as actual regent, ordered the sheriffs to see that each county sent two knights and each borough two burgesses to the Great Council of 1265 (§ 529). These men were real "representatives," coming to the Great Council in the name of the shire and the borough. Similar summonses were issued afterwards, though the measure was not looked upon as a permanent institution.

It was found that these "representatives" were more liberal in granting contributions to the crown than the great barons. This and other considerations led to the summoning, in 1295, of

what was later known as the **Model Parliament,** to which each shire and each borough was ordered to send two representatives, since, as Edward I's writ of summons said, " that which touches all should be approved by all." From that time *the regular representation of counties and boroughs became a fixed principle in the English parliament.*

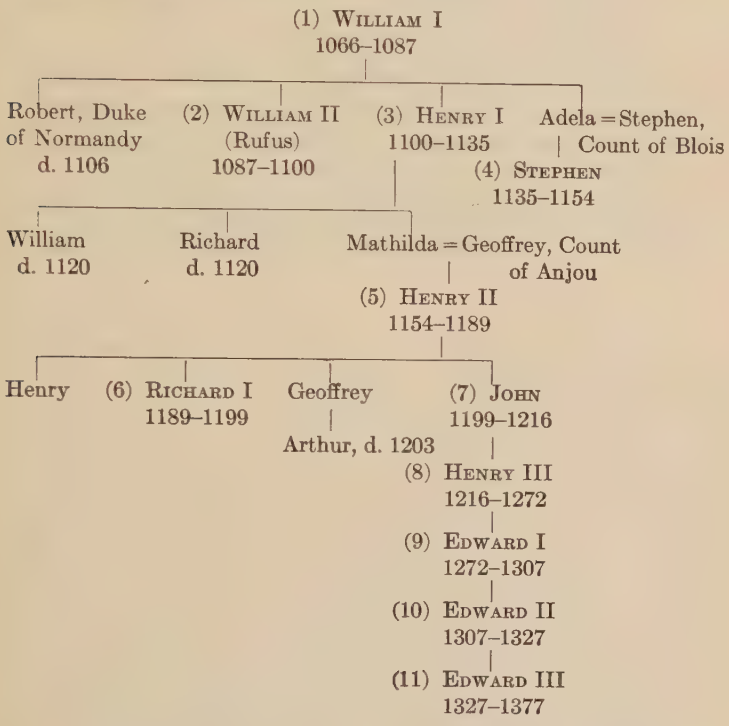
534. Other Developments of Parliament. — At first all the members, whether vassals of the king (both lay and ecclesiastical) or representatives of shires and boroughs, held common sessions in one hall, sitting in three groups: Ecclesiastical Lords, Secular Lords, Representatives of the People. Since only the bishops and great abbots actually attended, the ecclesiastics, called the " First Estate," were not numerous. So they joined the " Second Estate," the lay lords. Later on, when the sessions were held in separate halls, these two estates formed the *House of Lords,* while the " Third Estate " became known as the *House of Commons.* The members of the House of Lords, the bishops and abbots, lords, dukes, etc., came in their own name as " tenants-in-chief " of the crown; the members of the House of Commons were elected and sent by the people.

The name of " Parliament " instead of " Great Council " had been in vogue for some time before the reign of Edward I. The final division into two separate houses took place long after him. But his is the merit of having made representative members a permanent element of the national assembly, — besides having given to the English judiciary system a shape which in its essential lines was to last for many centuries. — In studying the history of the English parliament we have been studying more than English history, because England has really been " the Mother of Parliaments " for all countries which to-day have a free government.

535. Parliament Deposes a King. — Even before this two-house form was established, Parliament gave one striking demonstration of its power. Edward II (1307–1327), son of the great Edward, was a weak and unworthy successor. Selfish and greedy favorites ruled

through him, to the discontent and injury of the people. The nation rose against him, and Parliament deposed him with much legal formality.

536. TABLE OF NORMAN AND PLANTAGENET KINGS[1]



537. "No Taxation without Representation." — His wars induced Edward I to demand high money contributions from his nobles, lay and ecclesiastical. The clergy protested vigorously because according to the existing laws of the Church they should not pay any taxes. But most of them were intimidated and later on really paid the amount. Pope Boniface VIII, urged at

[1] The kings are numbered. The symbol = means "married."

the same time by bitter complaints of the French clergy (§ 666), restated in the famous bull " Clericis Laicos " the old regulations in strong language. At the same time the lay lords of England, too, complained of the extortionate taxing by the king. Archbishop Winchelsey of Canterbury, who had never paid the tax, took his stand with the lay lords. Armed with the papal document he was able to give greater force to their resistance. Edward I yielded. He again solemnly confirmed the Magna Carta with the additional promise, *never to impose* ***any kind of tax*** *without the consent of Parliament.* Thus was established in England's political life the principle of " No taxation without representation," which was to play such an important part in the history of America.

CHAPTER XXXVII

FRANCE TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

We now turn to the countries which once made up the Empire of Charlemagne. The western part of the continent with its Roman and Carolingian traditions was the scene of those events, both secular and ecclesiastical, which most affected the history of the world for the next centuries. But it was no longer united. We shall take up first the kingdom of West-Frankland. (Review §§ 445–448.)

THE CAPETIAN KINGS AND THEIR AIM

538. Accession of the Capetians. — During the inroads of the Northmen (before the foundation of Normandy; see § 451, 3), *Robert the Strong* had defended the city of Paris, then a small town on a marshy island in the Seine River. His origin was obscure. According to some he was a Saxon by extraction. Robert's son, Odo, in turn heroically held the city throughout a siege of eleven months, carried on by the same terrible foe. Odo obtained the position of Duke of *Francia*, a district extending across the rivers Seine and Loire, and including the cities of Paris and Orleans. Francia was the principal section of Clovis' first conquest (§ 417). Like other parts of Charlemagne's realm, the western kingdom had broken up into a number of dukedoms and similar vassal states, such as Aquitaine, Burgundy, Toulouse, Brittany, Flanders, Champagne, some of them reviving the names of sections of the old Merowingian kingdom.

In 887 an assembly of the nobles of West-Frankland elected Odo, the Duke of Francia, king. For the next hundred years the crown passed back and forth between Odo's family and the last of the Carolingians. But in 987, after the death of the Carolingian Louis the Sluggard (§ 448), Odo's grandnephew, **Hugh**

Capet, was elected. With him begins the line of the *Capetians,* which replaced the Carolingians. The name of Hugh's dukedom, Francia, was gradually extended to the whole kingdom (§ 446). This is the origin of the name of **France.**

It was the custom for a king to name a successor during his own lifetime, and then to have the nomination approved by the nobles. For three hundred years, however, each Capetian king was blessed with a son old enough to be capable of receiving the scepter directly from his hands, and, indeed, to be associated with him in the government during his lifetime. So, in the absence of conflicting claims, even the *form* of election vanished. *French kingship became strictly hereditary,* and the Capetian family ruled France until very recent days, when France ceased to have kings at all.

539. Reference Table: Capetian Kings to 1314, with Accession Dates

Hugh Capet	987	Philip II (Augustus)	1180
Robert II	996	Louis VIII	1223
Henry I	1031	Louis IX (the Saint)	1226
Philip I	1060	Philip III	1270
Louis VI	1108	Philip IV (the Fair)	1285–1314
Louis VII	1137		

540. A "Feudal Kingship." — In 987 there was as yet no "Kingdom of France." Hugh Capet was crowned "King of the Gauls, Bretons, Danes, Normans, Aquitanians, Goths, Spaniards, and Gascons." This title shows something of the composite nature of "France" at that date.

The election of Hugh did not increase his actual power. It did increase his duties, but his resources rested on his possessions as Duke of Francia. Several of the great vassals ruling over the rest of France were each almost as powerful as the king, and so far as they obeyed him at all, they obeyed him as their feudal suzerain rather than as a national king. He had no hold upon the subvassals (§ 471, 1) nor did he have a national militia. When he needed an army, his forces came (1) from his own im-

EUROPE and the
BYZANTINE EMPIRE
about 1000
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300 400
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
English Channel
Strait of Gibraltar
KINGDOM OF NORWAY
KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND
IRELAND
ANGLO-SAXON KINGDOM
WALES
FRIESLAND
SAXONY
LOWER LORRAINE
UPPER LORRAINE
ALSACE
SUEBIA
BAVARIA
ROMAN EMPIRE
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
FRANCE
BURGUNDY
AQUITAINE
GASCONY
TOULOUSE
C. OF BARCELONA
KINGDOM OF BURGUNDY
LOMBARDY
TUSCANY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
KINGDOM OF LEON
CASTILE
NAVARRE
CALIFATE OF CORDOVA
SARACENIC POSSESSIONS
BALEARIC IS.
Edinburgh
Durham
York
Chester
Norwich
Oxford
London
Canterbury
Hastings
Boulogne
Cardiff
Limerick
Kilkenny
Kilkare
Dublin
Armagh
Kells
Shannon R.
Tunsberg
Ribe
Schleswig
Hamburg
Bremen
Osnabruck
Verden
Utrecht
Munster
Paderborn
Erfurt
Brussels
Cologne
Fulda
Frankfort
Mayence
Worms
Treves
Metz
Verdun
Toul
Strassburg
Ulm
Wurzburg
Bamberg
Basel
Constance
Besancon
Lyons
Geneva
Trea
Legnano
Milan
Pavia
Ronceglia
Susa
Savona
Genoa
Bologna
Florence
Pisa
Siena
Nice
Marseilles
Aigues-mortes
Nimes
Toulouse
Narbonne
Lerida
Barcelona
Saragossa
Cuenca
Valencia
Murcia
Cartagena
Granada
Malaga
Seville
Cordova
Guadalquiver
Guadiana R.
Tagus R.
Lisbon
Toledo
Salamanca
Zamora
Leon
Burgos
Oviedo
Duero R.
Bayonne
Pamplona
Rhone R.
Loire R.
Tours
Bourges
Poitiers
Limoges
Nantes
Orleans
Paris
Rouen
Reims
Laon
Amiens
Cambray
Tournay
Ghent
Bruges
Lyons
Rhone R.
Algiers
Biserta
Tunis
Palermo
Long. West 5 of Greenwich
Long. East 5 of Greenwich

SUBDIVISIONS of BURGUNDY
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY to France
C. OF BURGUNDY
C. OF PROVENCE
DAUPHINY
SAVOY
LOMBARDY
Dijon
Citeaux
Cluny
Besançon
Basel
Lausanne
Geneva
Sion
Lyons
Grenoble
Chartreuse
Vienne
Arles
Aix
Marseilles
Nizza
Toulon
POLAND
Esthonians
Lithuanians
Prussians
MAZOVIA
Plock
Vistula R.
Pinsk
Pripet R.
Tchernigov
RUSSIA
Kiev
Dnieper R.
Beltz
Cracow
CHROBATIA
Halicz
Dniester
Don R.
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
TRANSYLVANIA
Marus R.
Theiss R.
Pruth R.
Chersonesus
(conquered by the Varangians 986)
BLACK SEA
SERVIA
Belgrade
Sirmium
Vidin
Nissa
Naissus
Tirnova
Periathlava
Varna
Sinope
Trapezus
Ancyra
Amasia
Colonea
Sebastea
Caesarea
Iconium
Podandus
Edessa
Antioch
Homs
Damascus
Jerusalem
Tripoli
Tyre
Acre
Ascalon
Gaza
Rhinocolura
Pelusium
Alexandria
Cairo
Memphis
Heliopolis
Babylon
Arsinoe
Suez
Red Sea
Mecca
Medina
Aden
Abyssinia
Nubia
Dongola
Sennaar
Nubians
Libyans
Tripoli
Fezzan
Ghadames
Augila
Barca
Cyrene
Ptolemais
Derna
Tobruk
Alexandria
Nile R.
Atbara R.
Blue R.
White R.
Lake Tzana
Gondar
Axum
Adulis
Massowah
Bab-el-Mandeb
Gulf of Aden
Socotra
Arabia
Yemen
Hadramaut
Oman
Muscat
Persian Gulf
Euphrates R.
Tigris R.
Bagdad
Babylon
Bassora
Ormuz
Persia
Ispahan
Shiraz
Kerman
Yezd
Herat
Candahar
Cabul
Indus R.
Multan
Delhi
Agra
Lahore
Cashmere
Thibet
Bokhara
Samarcand
Khiva
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Astrakan
Volga R.
Don R.
Sea of Azof
Crimea
Caffa
Sebastopol
Perekop
Dnieper R.
Dniester R.
Bug R.
Vistula R.
Oder R.
Elbe R.
Weser R.
Rhine R.
Meuse R.
Scheldt R.
Seine R.
Loire R.
Rhone R.
Garonne R.
Ebro R.
Tagus R.
Guadiana R.
Guadalquivir R.
Douro R.
Minho R.
Lisbon
Cadiz
Gibraltar
Tangier
Fez
Morocco
Algiers
Tunis
Tripoli
Malta
Sicily
Palermo
Messina
Syracuse
Reggio
Naples
Rome
Ancona
Ravenna
Venice
Milan
Turin
Genoa
Corsica
Sardinia
Leghorn
Florence
Pisa
Bologna
Verona
Mantua
Trent
Innspruck
Augsburg
Munich
Ratisbon
Nuremberg
Frankfort
Cologne
Aix-la-Chapelle
Liege
Namur
Brussels
Ghent
Bruges
Antwerp
Amsterdam
Utrecht
Leyden
Rotterdam
Dort
Haarlem
Zuyder Zee
Groningen
Emden
Bremen
Hamburg
Lubeck
Rostock
Stettin
Dantzic
Konigsberg
Memel
Courland
Livonia
Esthonia
Revel
Narva
Petersburg
Ladoga Lake
Onega Lake
Archangel
Wardhus
Lapland
Finland
Abo
Helsingfors
Wiborg
Sweden
Stockholm
Upsala
Gothenburg
Norway
Christiania
Drontheim
Bergen
Hardanger Fiord
Denmark
Copenhagen
Elsinore
Jutland
Schleswig
Holstein
Kiel
Flensburg
Ireland
Dublin
Belfast
Cork
Limerick
Galway
Scotland
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Aberdeen
Inverness
Orkney Islands
Shetland Islands
England
London
Thames R.
Severn R.
Bristol
Liverpool
Manchester
Hull
York
Newcastle
Carlisle
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Dover
Canterbury
Yarmouth
Norwich
Lincoln
Nottingham
Birmingham
Oxford
Cambridge
Wales
Holyhead
Milford Haven
Caernarvon
Anglesey
Isle of Man
Channel Islands
Jersey
Guernsey
Alderney
Sark
Brittany
Nantes
Rochelle
Bordeaux
Biscay
Navarre
Pyrenees
Barcelona
Valencia
Majorca
Minorca
Balearic Islands
Carthagena
Alicante
Murcia
Granada
Seville
Cordova
Toledo
Madrid
Burgos
Leon
Oviedo
Santander
Bilbao
Vitoria
Saragossa
Catalonia
Andorra
Roussillon
Perpignan
Montpellier
Nismes
Arles
Marseilles
Toulon
Nice
Provence
Dauphiny
Savoy
Piedmont
Turin
Milan
Lombardy
Mantua
Modena
Parma
Bologna
Ferrara
Ravenna
Tuscany
Florence
Pisa
Leghorn
Siena
Rome
Papal States
Naples
Kingdom of the Two Sicilies
Calabria
Apulia
Bari
Taranto
Brindisi
Salerno
Benevento (Papal)
Monte Cassino
Tagliacozzo
Lucera
Corsica
Sardinia
Cagliari
Sassari
Bona
Algiers
Oran
Tlemcen
Fez
Tangier
Ceuta
Gibraltar
Tarifa
Cape Trafalgar
Cadiz
Seville
Cordova
Granada
Malaga
Almeria
Carthagena
Alicante
Valencia
Saragossa
Barcelona
Majorca
Minorca
Balearic Islands
Pyrenees

mediate feudal followers in his hereditary duchy, and (2) from such of his great vassals as felt inclined to perform their duties of vassalage.

541. The Work of the Capetians. — Hugh Capet found France broken into feudal fragments, with varying laws and tongues. From these unpromising fragments, the Capetian kings in the next three centuries made a new French nation, with a common language, common customs, and a common patriotism.

Two forces helped the Capetians in this great work of national unification. (1) *The Church* felt the need of a strong king to protect society against the violence of greedy nobles. And in that day when bishops and abbots were themselves mighty feudal lords, the Church could give not only moral support but important material aid. (2) In the eleventh century the *lawyer class* rose into importance, especially as the advisers and clerical assistants of the nobles and kings (§ 531, end). They were trained in the Roman law with its imperial traditions (§ 412, note), and they built up a theory of absolute kingship which gave the kings moral support in every new claim for authority.

In the main, however, France was made through the shrewd, tireless, persistent policy of a long line of able kings who never lost sight of their goal.

"There is no other modern nation which owes so heavy a debt of gratitude to its ancient line of kings as the French. France, as it exists to-day, and has existed through all modern history, with all its glorious achievements, is their creation and that of no one else." — G. B. Adams.

THE KINGS WIN BACK IMPORTANT FIEFS

542. "France" Wins the Northwest. — The first great advances were achieved by Philip II, 1180–1223, whom admirers styled *Philip Augustus*, because, like the Roman Augustus, he had "enlarged the boundaries of the state." His reign covered the last ten years of Henry II of England, all of Richard's and John's reigns, and the early years of Henry III. When Philip came to the throne, Henry II was still working vigorously and

wisely to strengthen the national unity of England against feudal "decentralization." *But in France Henry was the chief obstacle to national unity,* — not because he was king of England, but because, as a great vassal, he held directly six times as much of France as Philip held directly (§§ 515, 516). In France, Henry always upheld the feudal privileges of the vassals against the crown.

It was natural that a French king should strive to stir up enemies against this too powerful vassal. Philip II set Richard on to make war against his father (§ 525); and when Richard had become king, Philip intrigued with his brother John. Finally, when John succeeded to the English crown, and so to the French fiefs, his follies and crimes gave Philip his long-sought opportunity. Philip's "court" of great vassals (§ 470, 2) summoned John to answer for his abuses; and, on his failure to appear, declared his fiefs forfeited to the crown. Philip II enforced this judgment by arms, so far as concerned Normandy, Maine, Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou. *The northwest quarter* of "France" was so added to the French crown, and the immediate territory of the French kings was quadrupled. At last, too, "France" reached the sea, with ports both on the Atlantic and the Channel. The King of England, as Duke of Aquitaine, still ranked among the most powerful French vassals, — along with the Duke of Burgundy, the Duke of Flanders, the Duke of Brittany, and the Count of Champagne.

543. "France" Gains the Southwest. — There had been another of the group, the great Count of Toulouse, most formidable of them all. But the time was near when his land also, from a practically independent vassal state, became an immediate possession of the crown of France.

In this case the success of the French kings came through the accident of a religious war. In the twelfth century there had been a period of decline in the Church (§ 571 ff.). This resulted in the rise of various sects of heretics. Without doubt the worst and most dangerous of them were the *Albigenses,* so called from the city of Albi in southern France.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE, 1154-1453.

SCALE OF MILES

0 50 100 200 300 400 500 600

Limit of the French Kingdom

Possessions of Plantagenet Kings

Lands of the French Kings

Independent Fiefs in France

Territory of Charles the Bold of Burgundy

Their doctrines were indeed most pernicious. They denied the sacraments and the entire ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the power of the state to punish crimes. There were two classes of them, the *perfect* and the *believers*. The perfect were forbidden to marry or to eat meat or any animal products, and were obliged to observe rigorous fasts. The believers had only two duties; namely, the firm will of joining the perfect sometime before death, and the performance of certain acts of reverence when meeting one of the perfect. Whatever vices they indulged in would be forgiven upon their entering the ranks of the perfect. This transition was brought about by a ceremony called *consolamentum*, which they imagined gave them absolute certainty as to their eternal salvation, provided they fulfilled the duties of the perfect. Should they commit a grievous fault, they were irretrievably lost, because the consolamentum could not be repeated. To prevent a relapse their friends might resort to the simple means of killing them. Such cases were not at all rare. Often, too, they would starve themselves to death. It is easy to see to what relaxation of morals such a doctrine was bound to lead. The judgment of Innocent III, who declared the Albigenses worse than Mohammedans (§ 420), is none too severe.

The mighty counts of Toulouse were the most ardent protectors of this detestable heresy. After all the means of kindness had been tried against the Albigenses for thirty years, Pope Innocent III called upon the Christian princes, including the King of France as the sovereign of the Count of Toulouse, to use force against them.[1] A war of twenty years followed, carried on with much perfidy on the part of the heretics and with cruelty on both parts. Antagonism against a closer union with the royal power in France had much to do with the fierce resistance offered by the southerners. But during the reign of St. Louis IX the wars came to a happy termination. In 1229 the Count of Toulouse promised to give up every attempt at further protecting the heretics. Part of his county he ceded at once to the crown of France. And by the marriage of his daughter to a brother of King Louis IX the rest also entered into a more direct connection with

[1] See *Guggenberger*, I, §§ 546–550. The complete suppression of the Albigensian heresy in France and of similar dangerous errors in Italy was one of the purposes of the "Inquisition" (§§ 662 ff.).

Capetian France. At the opening of his reign Philip II had ruled directly a twelfth of modern France. King Louis IX's direct sway extended over more than two thirds of it. "France" had won its way to the Mediterranean.

THE KINGS GAIN ABSOLUTE POWER

544. Growth of the Absolute Monarchy. — As the kings acquired the soil of France, piece by piece, their realm outgrew the crude feudal system, and they had to create new machinery of government. And as they added territory to territory, so too they added authority to authority. Here, too, Philip II, Augustus, made a beginning. He divided the royal territory into great districts, and over these he set royal officers, usually of humble origin so that they could not aspire to independent power.

A Gold Florin of St. Louis IX

His grandson, St. Louis IX, continued the work of organization. He, like the English kings, struck hard at feudalism, not because he hated the ancient institutions, but because he perceived their shortcomings, and out of a sense of justice endeavored to remedy them. He entirely abolished the right of private feuds (§ 479), and greatly improved criminal justice by doing away with the judicial combat. He opened the king's supreme court to appeals from all the lower feudal courts. (See § 471, 1.) Thus he gradually concentrated the administration of justice in the crown. Similarly all the other branches of the government were reorganized by him. Philip IV, the Fair, Louis IX's grandson, was of a different stamp. His unbounded selfishness did not shrink from any acts of the most crying injustice, rapacity, and violence (§ 666). But he, too, contributed his share towards the building up of the system of absolute government in France.

In each district the royal officer was given vast authority as a

representative of the king. He appointed inferior officers, collected royal revenues, — including new taxes of a modern sort which Philip IV introduced, — and oversaw every detail of local administration. The feudal lords lost all power in government, except over their serfs and villeins. These classes alone did not gain in the changes in France, except in the greater quiet and freedom from war. But the small vassals and the townsmen found escape from the rapacity and capriciousness of their old feudal lords.

In England this escape had come through the courts, the itinerant justices, and the free principles of the common law, as Englishmen grew to have an instinctive reverence for courts and law as the protectors of liberty. In France the like security came (a little later than in England) through the power intrusted to their officers by the kings.

545. The Estates General. — France, too, had its Great Council like England (§ 511). Philip IV, the Fair, added representatives of the cities to those of the nobility and the clergy. In 1302, only a few years after the Model Parliament in England, these new "Estates General" had their first meeting. But the assembly was never more than a convenient taxing machine. Nor did the French people know how to value and utilize it as the English people did. The kings summoned the Estates General when they chose, and they easily controlled its actions. When they no longer needed it, the meetings grew rarer and at last ceased entirely.

546. St. Louis IX is one of the noblest figures in medieval history. He possessed the piety of a child. Though a brave and brilliant knight and intrepid warrior, he was an ardent lover of peace, and never drew his sword except in a good cause and after all other means had been exhausted. We shall meet him again as a crusader (§ 596). His principles as man and as ruler are well expressed in his deathbed testament to his son Philip III, the Bold, of which the following is an extract.

"Fair son, the first thing that I teach thee is to mold thy heart to love God. If God send thee adversity, accept it patiently. If he send thee prosperity, thank him humbly, that thou be not worse through pride.

Bear thyself so that thy confessor and friends may venture to reprove thee for thy misdeeds. Attend devoutly to the service of Holy Church both with mouth and mind. Let thy heart be gentle and compassionate toward the poor and the afflicted, and comfort them so far as in thee lies. Help the right, and uphold the poor man until the truth be made manifest [*i.e.* while the case is undecided]. Be careful to have good provosts and bailiffs, and make frequent inquiries about them, and about all thy servants as to how they conduct themselves. Dear son, I bestow upon thee all the benediction a good father can give a good son. And may the blessed Trinity preserve and defend thee from all evil, and give thee grace to do the will of God."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

GERMANY AND ITALY TO THE END OF THE CRUSADES

THE FIRST GERMAN RULERS AFTER THE CAROLINGIANS

547. The German Dukedoms. — At the death of Louis the Child, 911 A.D., the last of the Carolingian rulers in East-Frankland (§ 448), the actual power resided chiefly in the hands of the great dukes. The names of *Saxony* (with *Thuringia*), *Bavaria*, and *Lorraine* have occurred frequently. The name of Alemannia had changed to *Suabia*, to which belonged Alsace on the left bank of the Rhine. *Franconia*, a district in the center, was inhabited by Franks. All the dukes, like those in the western kingdom (§§ 538 ff.), professed themselves vassals to the crown, but acted much as they pleased. Some even showed an inclination to break away entirely.

Most of these duchies represented each a separate tribe with its peculiar habits and customs. With the exception of the westernmost part of Lorraine the language of all of them was German, though not without strongly marked differences.

548. King Conrad I (911–918). — The dukes, together with the bishops and other prominent nobles, chose Duke Conrad of Franconia king. Though personally very energetic, pious, and able, he did not succeed, during his short reign of seven years, in curbing the power of his vassals and in defending the country from its two aggressive pagan foes, the Slavs and the fierce *Hungarians*. On his deathbed he recommended Henry, Duke of Saxony, his personal antagonist, as his successor, passing over his own brother Everard. The latter with equal unselfishness announced this fact to Henry, whom it is said he found at his favorite sport of hunting — hence Henry's surname, "the Fowler."

549. Henry I, the Fowler (918-936). — As Duke of Saxony he wielded considerable power. His private possessions, too, were very extensive. A rare combination of vigor and bravery with

GERMAN DUKEDOMS ABOUT 900

For the Kingdom of Burgundy see § 556 and map following page 418.

prudence and kindness enabled him to unite the dukes and the great nobility with himself in close but friendly dependence. To the Hungarians he first paid a yearly tribute for a truce of

nine years. During this time he hastened the wider introduction of armored horsemen, because this feature of feudalism had made little progress in Germany. To some extent he revived the old Teutonic militia of the freemen (§ 518) and established the so-called Merseburg Troops, a kind of standing army which was ever ready for the country's defense. A constant warfare against the Slavs furnished opportunities to gain military experience.

A lasting merit is the encouragement he gave to the development of cities. The few cities Germany then possessed were practically confined to those parts that had once belonged to the Roman Empire. They were situated south of the Danube or west of the Rhine, *e.g.*, Cologne, Augsburg, Treves. Henry erected large walled forts and inclosed the more important places by walls. One out of every nine farmers was obliged to do guard duty in these fortifications, and provide shelter for the other nine, while these tilled his fields. The markets[1] and popular assemblies were to be held within the walls. All this helped to increase the population of these strongholds. Many of them grew into large and important cities. The granting of municipal privileges still further strengthened the movement. For this reason later times gave Henry the noble title of " Builder of Cities."

When Henry refused any longer to pay the tribute and the terrible Hungarians poured over the border, the well-organized army inflicted such a blow upon them that for years they preferred to leave Germany alone.

OTTO THE GREAT — RESTORATION OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

550. Otto I, the Great (936–973), took up his father's work. He still further reduced the power of the great dukes, chiefly by augmenting that of the bishops, abbots, and other ecclesiastics. Otto aspired to the position of a real king. This caused several

[1] In earlier times, the Teutonic peoples held their "markets" — meetings for exchanging goods — in open spaces on the borders between the two tribes that were trading. These border spaces were called "marks" ("marches"). Hence comes our word *market*, and also the word *march* (*mark state*) for a border state (§ 439).

uprisings, in some of which even his own sons were implicated. But he knew not only how to carry out his will but also how to forgive those who were willing to submit. Germany under his rule became a rather strongly consolidated kingdom, much more so than France, where the Capetians had not yet come to the throne, and more so even than England, where the house of Alfred was still busied in reducing the Danelagh to submission.

551. Otto's Warlike Enterprises. — 1. Most of his wars were directed against the pagan *Slavs*. He made their princes and tribes tributary. But their conversion he had much more at heart. The new archbishopric of Magdeburg was to be the starting point and base of the missionary work. German colonists in large crowds followed the missionaries and in consequence of their superior methods of agriculture and government not only assimilated the old inhabitants but also secured the country for Christianity. Here, too, the activity of the monks (§ 501) was of the utmost importance. When under the later reigns the zeal of the kings relaxed, subordinate German princes and bishops carried on the work of Christianization and colonization. Repeatedly, however, paganism, and, to some extent, national feeling roused by harshness on the part of the Germans, broke out in fierce opposition. It took several centuries before all the land as far as the Oder and be-

THE TEMPORAL AND THE SPIRITUAL POWER

A mosaic of the tenth century in the Church of St. John, Rome, representing Christ giving the keys to St. Peter and the banner to Constantine the Great.

GERMAN COLONIZATION ON THE EAST AT THE EXPENSE OF SLAVS, LETTS, AND MAGYARS, 800-1400.
German
Slav
Lett
Monastery
Seat of a Bishop
Seat of an Archbishop
Boundary between Germans and Slavs, 800 A.D.
Finns
Reval
Eastland
Livland
Kurland
Riga
Uxküll
Memel
Conquests of the Teutonic Order after 1250.
BALTIC SEA
EAST SEA
Konigsberg
Fischhausen
Oliva 1186
Kolberg
Danzig
Marienburg
Elbing
Heilsberg
Prussians
Marienwerder
Thorn
Vistula
Gnesen
Posen
Poles
Glogau
Leubus 1175
Trebnitz 1203
Breslau
Neumarkt
Neisse
Ratibor
Krakow
Oder
Neuzelle
Frankfort
Landsberg
Neumark
Stargard
Pommerania
Stettin
Kolbatz
Berlin
Brandenburg
Stralsund
Bergen 1193
Rostock
Eldena 1199
Wismar
Brode 1177
Lübeck
Ratzeburg
Hamburg
Bremen
Elbe
Stendal
Magdeburg
Weser
Saale
Leipzig
Meissen
Bautzen
Görlitz
Leignitz
Zittau
Dresden
Altenburg
Freiberg
Leitmeritz
Brüx
Prague 1235
Bamberg
Maine
Bohemians
Olmütz
Iglau
Brünn
Budweis
Znaim
Ratisbon
Danube
Passau
Melk
Vienna
Kremnitz
Salzburg
Lambach
St. Pölten
Admont
Sockau
Bruck
Raab
Ofen
Friesach
Graz
Innichen
Gurk
Lavant
Brixen
Vilnach
Italians
Agram
Slavs
Drave
Hungarians
Danube
Theiss
Bistritz
Klausenburg
Hermannstadt
Burzenland 1211-25
Kronstadt
Roumanians
Dniester
Niemen
Delna
Dnieper
10
15
20
25
60
55
50
45

yond had become Christian and German. Several new vassal states, " marks " or " marches," were founded. One of them, the North March, afterwards called *Brandenburg*, was destined centuries later to play a prominent part in German history.

2. *Final Defeat of the Hungarians.* — After several minor incursions the Hungarians returned with an immense horde — the chroniclers speak of a hundred thousand horsemen. They devastated southern Germany, until Otto approached with the army. The barbarians were decisively defeated, almost annihilated. Their inroads into Christian countries were at an end (§ 457). This *Battle on the Lechfeld*, 955 A.D., although not quite so significant as those of Châlons and Tours (§ 422), holds a similar position among the great military events of history. The *East Mark*, established against the Hungarians, eventually became the nucleus of the Austrian Monarchy.

3. *His Wars in Italy.* — See § 552.

552. For more than half a century no emperor had been crowned. Otto's father, the poised and practical Henry, pondered on a restoration; and Otto's own ardent soul had long been fired with the vision of the imperial diadem. He was no doubt the mightiest king in Christendom. Like Charlemagne he had victoriously fought for the protection of religion and had worked successfully for its extension. The masses of the German people, too, dreamed of the elevation of their king. When he stood amid the carnage of the Lechfeld, his host with common impulse hailed him " Emperor of the Romans."

Intervention in the affairs of the Kingdom of Italy (*i.e.*, northern Italy, § 447) brought him nearer his goal. The royal power in that realm was a mere name. Some years before the battle on the Lech, Adelheid, widow of the deceased king, appealed to him against the usurper Berengar, who wanted to force her to a marriage with him, and was then besieging her in her castle. Otto came, liberated and married her, and was crowned King of Italy. He allowed Berengar to rule Italy as a German vassal.

Ten years later Berengar sided with a party of turbulent Roman nobles against the lawful Pope, John XII. Appealed to by the Pope, Otto again crossed the Alps, forced Berengar to enter a monastery, restored order in Rome and **was crowned Emperor in 962.** There was once more a Roman Emperor, a defender of the Church and protector of the Papacy. The dignity founded by Leo III and Charlemagne was renewed. It was now styled:

553. The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. — Concerning the emperor's relation to the pope and other rulers, see § 437. From now on the imperial crown remained by an unwritten law united with the position of the kings of Germany. This means that the German nation had the exclusive right to present their king for coronation to the pope, who unless there was some cogent reason would not crown any one not so presented. But in the choice of their king they were not restricted to their own nation. They might elect a Frenchman or Spaniard. Nor could the pope crown any candidate who, even though elected by the Germans, lacked the necessary qualifications.

Circumstances had induced the popes to grant this privilege, which made the Germans an object of envy to other nations. After centuries, when the dignity had declined in importance, it was still coveted by foreign potentates. For Germany the golden circle of that sacred crown was a strong bond of unity deeply and proudly cherished. This bond no doubt retarded the process of disintegration which later on threatened the country. It soon became customary for the German kings to style themselves *Kings of the Romans* or *Roman Kings* before their imperial coronation in Rome.

554. The Union of Germany and (Northern) Italy. — For centuries, Italy's history is closely bound up with that of Germany. Germany derived great advantage from close contact with a land which was so much more highly civilized. Italy, too, which "with its nine hundred ever-fighting counts resembled a huge ant hill" before the arrival of

the Germans, saw a period of order and peace. By favoring the bishops and their cities the foreign rule indirectly promoted city life and city liberties. At all times brilliant minds expected the greatest benefit for Italy from the Teutonic emperors. Still there were other parties which objected strongly to the German régime. It was often narrow party politics thwarted in some selfish petty designs, but at other times genuine patriotism cruelly wounded by Teutonic tyranny, which prompted the opposition.

555. Otto I after His Coronation. — John XII was the true Pope, but unfortunately he was not a good pope. Even though the charges against him are greatly exaggerated, his character was far from defensible. Otto found out that the Pope had changed front and was intriguing against him with the Berengarian party and even with the Hungarians. The Emperor returned to Rome. A council was called, which at the imperial suggestion declared John XII deposed and elected another pope, Leo VIII. It was a violent and tyrannical step. No power could depose the lawfully elected John XII. Hence Leo VIII was an anti-pope, though his private life was without blame. Otto now induced the Romans to swear not to choose a pope without his consent. After the Emperor had left Rome, John succeeded in regaining the city, but died soon. The saintly and learned Benedict V was elected as his successor. He was no doubt the lawful Pope. But the Emperor thought differently. Maintaining the claim of his creature Leo VIII, he took Rome by force and kept Benedict V a prisoner until death. Happily both Pope and anti-pope died within a short time of each other, and a canonical election with the Emperor's consent raised John XIII to the Apostolic Chair.

Apart from this blunder, which can in some way be extenuated by the extreme provocation he had suffered and by the character of John XII, Otto's rule was beneficial to State and Church alike. His merit in promoting the missions among the Slavs cannot easily be overestimated. He was deeply impressed with the sacredness of his office, and it is related that he never wore the crown without having fasted the day before.

556. The Other Emperors of the Saxon House. — *Otto II* (973–983) *and Otto III* (983–1001), son and grandson of Otto the Great, continued favoring the Church and supporting, though less vigorously, the missions in the east and north. Otto III, young, highly educated, fervently pious, and greatly beloved by the Germans, dreamed of restoring the old Roman Empire in its full extent, with Rome as his residence — an absolutely impossible project.

St. Henry II (1002–1024), a distant relative of the childless Otto III, a man of thoroughly practical character, was the very opposite of his idealistic predecessor. He never strove for the impossible. On the whole he maintained the position that Germany had attained. His chief care was Germany itself. He did perhaps more than anyone else to increase the power of the bishops, upon whose fidelity and support he mainly relied. By a compact with the King of Burgundy (§ 446) he prepared the way for the annexation of that country to Germany, which was effected under his successor.

With St. Henry died out the family of the Saxon emperors.[1] Their rule had considerably strengthened the national unity of Germany, and marked a progress in religious, literary, and artistic life. The Reform of Cluny (§ 501) found an ardent promoter in St. Henry II, under whom it began to enter Germany.

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[1] Reference Table of German Kings

Those marked with a star were crowned Emperor

(1) Conrad I (Franconian), 911–918
(2) Henry I (Saxon), 919–936
* (3) Otto, 936–973 (Emperor, 962–973)
* (4) Otto II, 973–983
* (5) Otto III, 983–1002
* (6) Henry II, 1002–1024
* (7) Conrad II (Franconian), 1024–1039
* (8) Henry III, 1039–1056
(9) Henry IV, 1056–1106
* (10) Henry V, 1106–1125
* (11) Lothair II (of another Saxon line), 1125–1137
(12) Conrad III (Hohenstaufen), 1138–1152
* (13) Frederick I, 1152–1190
* (14) Henry VI, 1190–1197
(15) Philip, 1198–1203
* (16) Otto IV (Guelph), 1198–1214
* (17) Frederick II, 1214–1250
(18) Conrad IV, 1250–1254

The Interregnum (§ 649)

557. The Salian Emperors (1024–1125). — Conrad II, the first of the Salians or Franconians, ruled much in the same way as St. Henry II, though his Church policy was very different. Henry III, his son, was beyond doubt one of the greatest of all the emperors. He still further reduced the power of the mighty dukes by diminishing their territories and declaring hereditary the fiefs of their subvassals. A confusion concerning the lawfulness of three claimants to the Papacy he settled to the benefit of the Church, though not without incurring some of the blame attaching to the methods of Otto I. But he was ever the strong friend and the ardent promoter of the Reform of Cluny and of general ecclesiastical discipline. Under him the cities, too, began to rise into prominence. Many of them were partly or entirely exempted from the power of the lower vassals, and as "free and imperial cities" placed directly under the Emperor. He gave his hearty support to the enforcement of the "Truce of God" (§ 479).

His son and grandson, Henry IV and Henry V, were of a different stamp. Henry IV, who came to the throne as a child, developed into a willful despot. Henry V, who had revolted against his father, surpassed him in craftiness. Both these rulers are notorious in history for what is called the Contest of Lay Investiture, which filled half a century. It must be treated in an extra chapter (§§ 572 and 578–582).

THE HOHENSTAUFEN EMPERORS

FREDERICK I, "BARBAROSSA"

558. Frederick I, Barbarossa (1152–1190). — After the twelve years' reign of Lothair II, who governed entirely in the spirit of St. Henry but with more success, Conrad III, Duke of Suabia, of the family of Hohenstaufen, was elected. Passing over his young son, he recommended on his deathbed his nephew Frederick as successor. Frederick I, called Barbarossa (Red-beard) by the Italians, was first and foremost a German king and gave

to Germany a long period of peace and prosperity. The Germans had every reason to see in him a father of their country. Unfortunately his ecclesiastical and Italian policies were to a large extent a failure. He had drawn his ideas of the imperial dignity from the Justinian Code of Laws, according to which the emperor is the sole source of right (§ 412). Evil advisers did the rest.

Remains of the Castle of Gelnhausen, One of Barbarossa's Residences

Since the days of Otto the Great the *Italian cities* in Lombardy had been granted a great amount of home rule and other privileges, and under weak rulers had arrogated still more. Frederick called a great assembly on the "Roncalian Fields," to settle their relation to the emperor. His chief advisers were four professors of Roman law of Bologna. The development of the last two hundred years was completely ignored. It was ordained that the cities were to be reduced to the condition in which they had been under Otto the Great. This serious mistake led to long wars, in which at first the Emperor was triumphantly victorious. Several of the flourishing cities, among them mighty Milan, were captured and destroyed without mercy.

559. Frederick Barbarossa and the Pope. — Early in his reign Frederick had saved Rome from the machinations of a certain Arnold of Brescia, a heretic and political demagogue, and *had been crowned Emperor.* Difficulties with the Pope soon loomed up. Once in a solemn assembly a papal letter to the Emperor was read and mistranslated in such a way as to mean that the Empire was a benefice of the Holy See, which would have made the emperor a secular vassal of the pope. The Holy Father Adrian (Hadrian) IV explained its true meaning. The Emperor appeared satisfied; but the indignation roused among his blind admirers had already done much harm. Later the Emperor on the flimsiest pretexts took the side of an antipope and marched against Rome to install him. A few days after his arrival in the Eternal City a terrible pestilence broke out. A large number of his trusted friends and more than 20,000 of his best troops perished. This was generally considered *a judgment of God. But a second one* was needed. The Pope, *Alexander III* (§ 522), combined with the league of Lombard cities in their fight for their liberties. At *Legnano,* 1176, the cause of the Church and of freedom triumphed over despotism. The *Peace of Venice,* truly fair to each party, was concluded in 1177.[1]

The battle of Legnano, just a hundred years after the self-humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa, marks a triumph of ecclesiastical liberty over an encroaching secular ruler, and of civil freedom over tyranny. Although won by an overwhelming majority, it was nevertheless a victory of a citizen infantry over feudal cavalry, and thus presaged the coming of a new phase in the history of warfare.

560. Frederick's Place in History. — Despite the defeat of Legnano, Frederick remained the greatest and most honored monarch in Europe. His court was one of pomp and splendor.

[1] A lozenge of red and white marble in the vestibule of St. Mark's Church (picture in § 611) indicates the place where the mighty Emperor, overcome by the sight of the Pope, flung away his imperial purple and threw himself at the feet of Alexander. With tears in his eyes the Holy Father raised him up and gave him the kiss of peace. See Kurth, *Turning Points,* pages 81–93, especially pages 92 and 93.

He looked upon France and England as fiefs of the Empire; and the sovereigns of those lands regarded the Emperor with profound respect, if not quite as their overlord. In Germany itself, his long reign was a period of remarkable prosperity. Forests were cleared to make farming villages, and villages grew into trading towns. Agriculture improved its methods, and land rose in value. The rougher side of feudal life in the castles began to give way to more refined manners, and a charming German literature appeared in the lays of the minnesingers (§ 615). — When an old man, Frederick, no doubt in order to atone for the misdeeds of his life, set out upon the third crusade (§ 594), and was drowned while trying, after a hot day's march, to swim across a little stream in Asia Minor.

His death in so holy a cause made men forget his shortcomings and surrounded his name with radiancy. Barbarossa is the popular hero with the German people; legends long told how he was not dead, but sleeping a magic sleep, sitting upon an ivory throne in the heart of the Kyffhäuser Mountain. At the appointed time, in his country's need, the ravens would cease circling about the mountain top; and, at this signal, Barbarossa would awake, to bring again the reign of peace and justice.

561. Guelf and Ghibelline. — The contest in Italy at this period gave rise to new party names. The Hohenstaufen family took their name from their ancestral castle perched on a crag in the Alps. But near this first seat of the family was their village of *Waiblingen*, by which name also they were sometimes known. The chief rival of the first Hohenstaufen emperor had been Henry the Lion, of Saxony, who was surnamed *Welf*. In German struggles these names became war cries, — *Hi Welf! Hi Waibling!* In Italy the German words were softened into *Guelf* and *Ghibelline*, and in this form they became real party names. A Ghibelline was of the imperial party; a Guelf was an adherent of the Papacy. Long after this original significance had passed away, the names were still used by contending factions in Italian towns. In general, the democratic

factions were Guelfs; but often the terms had no meaning beyond that of party interest, — so that " as meaningless as the squabbles of Guelfs and Ghibellines " has become a byword.

562. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. — Long after the establishment of the Papal States there remained in southern Italy a few districts subject to the Byzantine emperors. There were besides some Italian principalities dating from Lombard times, and a small province acquired by the popes under Henry III. Sicily, however, and some localities in the peninsula had fallen into the power of the Saracens. Little success crowned the struggle of the Ottos against these foes. Under Henry II the Saint a party of Normans on their return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem did good service against the Mohammedans. A larger force arrived from Normandy and made conquests for which their leader swore fealty to the Emperor. But they soon attacked Italian, Greek, and Arab alike and treated the subjected population with insolence and cruelty. An army sent against them by Pope St. Leo IX was defeated. Their energetic leader, Robert Guiscard, however, took the papal province he had conquered and whatever land he could wrest from either the Greeks or the Saracens as *a fief of the Holy See.* This fierce warrior then, always fighting against overwhelmingly superior numbers, destroyed both the Greek and the Saracen power in Italy and Sicily. The war was considered a holy war, — a prelude of the crusades. The Arabs he allowed to remain, provided they complied with the laws. Thus *Robert became the founder of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies* within less than thirty years after the Norman William had made himself master of England (§§ 504 ff.). *Normans now controlled the largest island in the north and the largest in the Mediterranean Sea.* But their influence upon the population in the south was not so thorough as it had been in the north. Sicily in particular developed a civilization which though Christian and Italian was greatly affected by the presence of the Oriental elements in the island. (See *Guggenberger*, I, §§ 348–356.)

FREDERICK II

563. Barbarossa's Next Successors. — The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had existed a hundred years, when Frederick Barbarossa brought about a marriage between his son and successor, Henry VI, and the heiress of the southern realm. The Pope, who had been kept in ignorance, strongly disapproved of this union. But after being crowned Emperor, *Henry VI* (1190–

1197) took possession of his wife's inheritance and with much cruelty put down the opposition of a native party. He took up the scheme of Otto III (§ 556) of founding a world empire. Much more powerful, able, and energetic, and aided by the crusading spirit of the age, he might have succeeded to a large degree, had he not died when at the height of his power. At the request of his wife, *Innocent III* became guardian of his infant son Frederick, who had already been elected Emperor and was of course heir to the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. With fatherly love the great Pope took care of the child, gave him an excellent education, protected all his interests, and had the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies administered in the infant king's name.

564. A Crown Dispute. — After the sudden death of Henry VI the German princes set aside the election of Frederick, his infant son, and proceeded to a new election. The two parties, the Ghibellines and Guelfs, each chose its own candidate. A civil war was the consequence. One of the "kings" died after a few years. The other, Otto IV, allied himself with John Lackland of England and with him suffered a terrible defeat at Bouvines at the hands of Philip II (§§ 527, 542). The Germans turned again to Frederick of Sicily, who was then twenty years old. Supported by Pope Innocent III he was again elected and crowned King of Germany at Aachen. He had pledged himself never to unite the Kingdoms of Germany and Sicily.

565. Frederick II (1194-1250) was crowned Emperor by Honorius III in 1220. He was one of the most brilliant rulers that ever sat upon a throne. His contemporaries called him the wonder of the world. He spoke German, Latin, Italian, Greek, and Arabic. All his life he remained a protector of art and literature. But this was all he saved from the careful education given him under his tutor Innocent III.

Contrary to his promises he at once united the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies with his German realm. He commonly resided in the sunny south. With complete disregard of historical right he reorganized the kingdom upon an entirely new plan, doing away with feudal relations and governing through officials

whom he appointed and dismissed according to his pleasure. This southern kingdom was much more modern than medieval. His despotic administration, however, was efficient. The provinces rose to a flourishing state. Arts and sciences were cultivated. Commerce grew, and the cities, though not politically free, became rich and prosperous under Frederick's government.

566. Frederick II's First Conflict with the Pope. His "Crusade." — But religiously and morally his mind had been poisoned by Ghibelline lawyers and by the loose Arabian society of Sicily. He interfered with the most evident rights of the Church and played with promises and oaths. He solemnly took the cross for a *crusade*, and postponed his departure from year to year, during which time tens of thousands of crusaders, who had gathered in Italy from various lands, either returned home in disgust or fell victims to want and diseases. In the Orient great advantages were lost, because the Christians, rightly expecting to obtain much better results, waited for the arrival of the Emperor; the Emperor never came. Finally, he was excommunicated by the pope.

Unabsolved, Frederick now set out with a handful of knights. The Mohammedan ruler, himself a usurper, and at enmity with a rival, was on good terms with Frederick. *Without drawing the sword Frederick by a truce received for ten years the Holy City* with Bethlehem and Nazareth (1229). In the Church of the Holy Sepulcher he put the crown of the Kingdom of Jerusalem on his head with his own hands, without any prayer or ceremony, because no priest or bishop was willing to crown an excommunicated man. As peace had thus been brought about, he ordered all the crusaders to leave the Holy Land. All Christendom was indignant at such a crusade. For the sake of Christian unity Pope Gregory IX, the following year, patched up a treaty with Frederick II and absolved him from the excommunication.

567. Second Conflict with the Papacy. — In Germany, where he resided rarely, and where he respected the existing conditions,

Frederick II was very popular. In Italy and Sicily he soon renewed his encroachments upon the possessions and the most sacred rights of the Church. He also aimed at a complete subjugation of the Lombard cities, as if there had never been a Peace of Venice (§ 559).

While he was thus engaged in fierce struggles in Italy, a terrible danger approached Germany. The Mongols, or Tartars, kinsmen of the Huns (§ 397), invaded Europe with enormous forces under Genghis Khan (Lord of Lords) and devastated Russia, Poland, and Hungary. Urgent appeals were sent to the absent Emperor. Frederick II preferred to pursue the conquest of papal territory and the war against the democratic cities. In 1240 the Mongols fought a drawn battle with an army hastily gathered by some German princes, and did not advance any farther. Their immense empire soon broke up into parts, one of which was China. Russia remained until about 1500 under the yoke of a Tartar power called the Golden Horde.

A General Council met at Lyons and, in 1245, declared Frederick II deposed. He continued his warfare with a sort of frenzy. Both parties were guilty of repulsive cruelty, though Frederick by far surpassed his antagonists. He died in 1250. On his deathbed he received the sacraments, and ordered restitution to be made to the Church and to all whom he had injured. "What the people of Italy thought of him," says a German historian, "they showed by their boundless joy at the return (from France) of the Pope, whose journey was one series of triumphs, because the tyrant was no more, and there was now hope for better times."

With Frederick II practically ends the rule of the Hohenstaufens in Germany. His son Conrad IV, elected king by his party, never obtained real power and died four years after his father, in 1254.

568. Charles of Anjou. — The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies remained for some years the object of fierce fighting between Frederick's Italian descendants and the papal party. In 1266 the Pope as suzerain of the kingdom gave the crown to *Charles of Anjou*, a brother of St. Louis of France.[1] Frederick II's grandson in Germany, Duke Conradin, a youth

[1] This Charles of Anjou was no relative at all of the Angevin family that ascended the English throne in the person of Henry II (§§ 515 ff.).

of seventeen years, made a futile attempt to conquer the realm. He was captured and executed. *Thus, on the scaffold, ended the family of the Hohenstaufen emperors.*

Charles of Anjou's cruelty and the insolence of his French retainers provoked a bloody insurrection in Sicily, beginning with a massacre called the *Sicilian Vespers.* The insurgents invited Peter III of Aragon, whose descendants eventually became kings of Sicily. Charles of Anjou maintained himself in the peninsula, thus forming the separate kingdom of Naples. Both kingdoms, however, remained fiefs of the Holy See, and were later on reunited.

EMPIRE AND PAPACY AT THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

569. The Empire. — Under the Hohenstaufen rulers Germany saw a new and brilliant growth of arts and literature, particularly in poetry. Many of the grandest buildings of the mighty princes and flourishing cities were finished or commenced. The crusades exerted their renovating influence in every direction. The kingdom and Empire reached a dominating position in Europe. Nor did the intellectual side of this development cease with the end of the Hohenstaufen rule.

In the political field the wrong conception of the imperial dignity could not but work great harm. The violent and almost insane opposition of Frederick II to the Papacy degraded the crown which he wore. *About the time of his last war with the popes there set in a rapid political decay.* Several of the German dukedoms had been broken up, their former subvassals became immediately subject to the crown, and the title and rank of duke was now bestowed on more princes. The granting to many princes, of royal privileges — *e.g.*, exemption from appeals to the king, — and the liberal distribution of royal property, the chief source of revenue in an age which practically knew no taxes, tended to diminish greatly the ruler's actual power. This squandering of the king's rights and property assumed truly alarming proportions shortly before and after Frederick II's death. The effects became apparent. Germany had entered upon a process of interior disintegration. After this, few

German kings were strong enough to go to Rome to receive the imperial crown.

The Italian cities were practically left to themselves. Notwithstanding their endless party strifes and wars they grew constantly in prosperity, and their intellectual life became more vigorous. They, more, perhaps, than any other country, were benefited by the new mendicant orders (§§ 583 ff.).

570. The Papacy. — Imperial transgressions had forced this struggle upon the popes. They came out victorious. It had cost them dearly, however. In the last contest with Frederick II they were deprived of the revenues of their states and at the same time obliged to shoulder heavy expenses. They resorted to a taxation of ecclesiastical property. Their right to do so and the justice of their cause cannot be questioned, but complaints were at once raised by avaricious prelates and jealous rulers. These complaints increased constantly and became one of the standing grievances against the Holy See. The popes could no longer rely upon a strong Germany, and began to look to France for support. But this France had ceased to be the France of St. Louis IX.

CHAPTER XXXIX

PERIOD OF THE CRUSADES: REFORM MOVEMENTS

The crusades were wars undertaken by Christian Europe for the recovery of the Holy Land from the oppression of the Mohammedans. They lasted from 1096 to 1291. They were possible only by the heroic sacrifices on the part of the Christians. These sacrifices would not have been made had not the nations of Europe been imbued with a very high degree of faith, in particular with a genuine love for Jesus Christ and His Church. Besides this the time of the crusades is also a period of wholesome developments in the religious, intellectual, and political life of Europe. Before proceeding to the study of the crusades themselves, we shall review several of the great movements which made for a higher purity and liberty of the Church, and devised new ways in the imitation of Christ, the Lord and Savior of mankind.

571. Concerning Church Reform. — We have observed repeatedly that the discipline of the Church and the morals of both clergy and laity were not what they should have been. Young Catholic students, accustomed to look up with great respect to their ecclesiastical superiors, are often shocked when for the first time it comes home to them that in the past there have been priests and bishops who were lukewarm in their faith, lax in their morals, and careless in the fulfillment of their duties; nay, that there have even been a few bad popes. But this should neither dishearten nor frighten us. Among the twelve apostles there was one Judas; and one, St. Peter, who in a moment of temptation denied his Lord, and one, St. Thomas, who at first refused to believe in the resurrection. And yet it was through the apostles that the Divine Redeemer built up His glorious kingdom on earth. And so, in spite of all the shortcomings of her ministers, the Church has been the great and efficient teacher of sanctity, the restorer of morality, the chief and, in a way, the only civilizer of the barbarian nations. (See §§ 311, 342, 376, 403, 404 ff.)

Moreover, being an organism which is animated by a Divine Spirit, the Church possesses the power of reforming both herself and her mem-

bers, whenever a reform is needed. And when this is the case, God will not fail to see that such a reform be really inaugurated. The chief powers in every reform will be the authorities of the Church, above all the Papacy, though others, laymen included, may not only yield great assistance, but even, in a private way, originate the struggle against the evils from which the Church is suffering. (See, for instance, §§ 584 and 585.) In fact the whole activity of the Church, like the life of every good Christian, is a constant work of reform. Nor should it be forgotten that even during the worst periods there have never been lacking immense numbers who led the life of ordinarily good Catholics, and many that were eminent for their sanctity.

THE EVILS IN THE CHURCH

572. Lay Investiture. — We have seen previously (§§ 471, 3; 493) that practically all the great functionaries of the Church possessed feudal property, which the great lords or the kings themselves had bestowed upon them. For this property they and their lords went through the ceremony of investiture (§ 467). But as it was not thought becoming that a bishop or abbot should be handed a spear or banner or anything suggestive of warfare, it was customary to invest ecclesiastics by surrendering to them the ring and pastoral staff. *This investing of a bishop or other prelate with a secular fief by a layman, by handing to him ring and staff, is called lay investiture.* Lay investiture was likely to create an essentially wrong impression. Ring and staff were here used to represent the secular fief, while in themselves they were the emblems of spiritual jurisdiction. The act, therefore, was apt to create the opinion that the bishop received from the king not a temporal possession but the spiritual power itself.

As long as this lay-investiture took place after a canonical election (§ 493) the evil was not so considerable. But soon the king (or other temporal lord) simply demanded the ring and staff of the deceased bishop or abbot, and without further ado "invested" with them a person of his own choice, whom he ordered to be elected.

In practice, even this violent interference did not always work badly. Good rulers carefully selected their candidates and often succeeded in filling the sees of their territory with excellent bishops. But the principle was wrong in itself, and on the whole it had already done incalculable harm to the Church.

573. Simony. — Simony is committed by buying, selling, or bartering for temporal goods any *spiritual things* or *temporal things on account of the spiritual benefits annexed to them.* This is the sin committed by Simon Magus, the sorcerer, who offered money to St. Peter to buy from him the power of communicating to others the Holy Ghost (Acts of the Apostles, VIII, 9–24). At the time of which we speak ecclesiastical positions chiefly were the "article" bought and sold. Lay investiture greatly increased the evil. It was of course very tempting for a ruler to accept a present or a contribution for his empty exchequer with the understanding that the donor would be granted a rich bishopric or abbey. Similar to this was the promotion of sons or relatives to important ecclesiastical positions, the duties of which they were neither able nor willing to fulfill. In some royal courts bishoprics and abbeys were occasionally put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder. The prelates who had thus obtained their position would then sell the lower offices in the same scandalous manner.

574. Nicolaitism was another evil, closely connected with the former two. From the beginning of Christianity deacons and higher ecclesiastics were strongly advised not to enter the state of matrimony. The life of *celibacy* for God's sake is a closer imitation of Jesus Himself and His Virgin Mother; it enables priests to live exclusively for their sacred duties, and frees them from numerous worldly entanglements. About the end of the fourth century this had ceased to be merely a recommendation and had become a strict law in the whole West. But during the troubled period of the dissolution of Charlemagne's empire and the inroads of the Northmen, the general confusion of the times caused the law to be widely disregarded. It was a

serious violation of ecclesiastical discipline. Worse than this, there were those who even taught that married life was better for the clergy, thus adding the crime of heresy to that of disobedience. All these transgressions were comprised under the term of *Nicolaitism*.[1] They were never so general as to allow the law of celibacy to be forgotten entirely.

As a rule ecclesiastics who did not scruple to buy their offices for money cared little for the law which enjoined on them a celibate life. They tried to provide their children with Church offices obtained through simony, and aimed to have their own sons as their successors. There was indeed ground for fear that ecclesiastical positions be reduced to the rank of hereditary fiefs.

575. Evils Threatening the Election of the Popes. — In the earliest times the popes were elected much after the manner of the other bishops (§ 493). The act was performed by the clergy of Rome together with the prominent laymen and the people. After the reign of Emperor Justinian the Great (§ 412) the Byzantine emperors for some time claimed and exercised the right of approving the election before the elected could be recognized and crowned. This "right" ceased, of course, after the establishment of the Papal States. Pippin the Short and Charlemagne did not influence the elections. But it appears that the Carolingian emperors obtained the privilege of having their envoy present at the consecration of the pope-elect. The three Ottos went much further. In some cases they proposed the person they expected to be elected. Yet the election itself was always considered essential, and without it no imperial candidate would have been recognized as pope. St. Henry II and Conrad II did not interfere in the elections, while Henry III, who found a rather chaotic state of things in Rome, again made his influence strongly felt. The fact that he

[1] In the first Christian centuries the *Nicolaites* formed a sect which taught that open immorality was pleasing to God. Its originator was a more or less fabulous Deacon Nicholas. (See the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, under "Nicolaites.") In the Middle Ages the name was applied to those clerics who violated the law of celibacy.

as well as the Ottos raised only worthy and able men to the Papacy cannot excuse the principle itself.

But whenever during these times the power of the northern emperors relaxed, there arose almost regularly that of *Roman and Italian factions*, which interfered with the elections generally in a much more detrimental way. Happily the principle of state interference was resisted at the moment when it threatened to produce the worst consequences.

REFORM POPES AND THEIR STRUGGLES

576. Measures against Simony and Nicolaitism. — One of the most influential elements for a thorough reformation of the Church was the Congregation of Cluny (§ 501). Though the purpose of this far-spread organization was to preserve or restore religious fervor in the monasteries, its influence extended more and more to the secular clergy also. The monks of Cluny efficiently advocated correct practices and virtuous living among all they could reach.

The first among the so-called reform popes is *St. Leo IX* (1048–1054), who for several years traveled through France and Germany, expelling unworthy bishops and priests from office. Victor II and Emperor Henry III, his cousin, had mapped out plans for a world-wide campaign against simony and Nicolaitism, but died before these plans could be carried into execution. The succeeding pontiffs were by no means neglectful of their duty; but nobody undertook the struggle with such vigor as the great *Gregory VII* (see below). He appealed directly to the laity, forbidding them to hear the Masses or admit the ministrations of priests who openly defied the laws of the Church. Zealous men all over Europe seconded the endeavors of the Pope by word of mouth, by writings, and by their example, and helped to break the power of these evils. The struggle lasted many years. Simony and Nicolaitism were never to revive again in the same frightful and threatening degree.

577. Law Concerning Papal Elections. — After the death of the stern Henry III, the unruly elements in Rome raised their head again, and as usual caused difficulties for the papal elections. Under such circumstances *Nicholas II* ascended the Chair of St. Peter. He was determined to put an end to all undue interference. A new law confined the choice of the pope to the cardinal-bishops, that is, the bishops of certain towns in the immediate neighborhood of Rome.[1] The other cardinals, the lower clergy, and the laity were allowed merely to express by acclamation their consent to the accomplished election.

It should be remarked that the occasion of this incisive regulation was chiefly the violence shown by the Roman factions during late years. It was equally designed to exclude all imperial meddling as well. However, it reserved expressly the rights which had been lawfully granted or were to be granted to the Roman king or emperor personally.

578. Law against Lay Investiture. — In 1073 Cardinal Hildebrand was elected to the Papacy. He assumed the name of *Gregory VII.* Hildebrand, an Italian of German extraction, belonged to the Benedictine Order. At the Roman court he had ably assisted several pontiffs in their work of reform. Nobody had given more thought to the needs of the Church, and to the question as to how her difficulties might be remedied. In 1075 he solemnly prohibited *lay investiture,* threatening with excommunication any layman that would presume to perform it and any ecclesiastic that would submit to it. This law concerned all countries. But the opposition to it nowhere reached the violence with which the powerful kings of England and Germany resisted it.

579. THE CONTEST ABOUT LAY INVESTITURE IN GERMANY. — *Henry IV* (1056–1106, see § 557) soon was at variance with the Saxons, among whom he generally resided.

[1] Later this law was changed so as to admit all the cardinals to the election.

By all known means of force and fraud and broken promises he crushed their several rebellions against his tyranny, and punished their leaders with the most brutal cruelty. They were his principal but by no means his only enemies in the kingdom. At his court a lucrative traffic was going on in sacred offices. Whenever he was hard pressed by his enemies, he listened to the voice of the pope and his own conscience; when the danger was over, he returned to his former habits of luxury, tyranny, and oppression of the Church.

Henry IV was engaged in wreaking barbarous vengeance upon the Saxons when Pope Gregory's law was promulgated. He openly defied it, and continued in his practice of lay investiture and all the scandalous manipulations connected with it. The Saxons appealed to Gregory VII for help against the tyrant. The Pope now summoned the king to Rome to answer to the charges made against him. Henry retorted by calling a sham synod of German bishops and abbots, which declared Gregory deposed, and he himself addressed to the Pope an insulting communication. The great majority of the bishops almost at once sent to the Pope a letter of confession, in which they pleaded fear of death as an excuse. *The Pope then in a Roman synod solemnly excommunicated Henry IV*, forbade him to act or appear as king, and threatened him with final deposition unless he should be absolved from the excommunication within a specified time (§ 495).

In Germany all those who sincerely sided with the Pope in his contest for right and justice and the liberty of the Church combined with the many who had been outraged by the despot. Soon the plan of electing another king was discussed. As the Pope had not yet rejected Henry definitely, he tried to mediate. It is entirely due to his efforts and the untiring activity of his legates that the plan was not carried out. An agreement was reached between the three parties, the Pope, the king, and the princes. Henry IV should appear in a diet at Augsburg, next Candlemas day, where the Pope would listen

to the grievances that might be urged against the king. There all disputes were to be settled, provided the king would give satisfaction to both pope and princes. Until then he was to live as a private man.

580. Henry IV's Penance at Canossa. Henry, who rightly did not trust the justice of his cause, wished by all means to appease the Pope before facing his enemies at Augsburg. He set out for Italy in the dead of winter under the greatest hardships, and crossed the Alps. The Pope had withdrawn to *Canossa*, a castle of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. Here in 1077 took place the famous meeting of Pope and king. (It must be kept in mind that there were three parties to the compact, and that all three must coöperate in the final settlement.) For three days the king appeared before the castle gate and stood there from morning till night in the garb of a penitent imploring absolution from the ban. The Pope was in a quandary. If he absolved him and restored him to his rights, he would break his promise to the German princes; if he did not absolve him, he would incur the charge of cruelty. He at length took a middle course. He absolved him from the excommunication as far as he was a private Christian, but left him as it were under its civil effects. Henry was not to act or appear as king and remained obliged to present himself at the diet of Augsburg and to submit to the verdict which would be reached there. This the king promised to do. He was then absolved and admitted to Holy Communion at the Pope's Mass.

Henry IV's act was certainly a humiliation, but not an extraordinary one in those days (§ 498). In the Ages of Faith public penance was of frequent occurrence and had nothing degrading attached to it. Men of high rank, kings included, submitted to it and lost nothing in the estimation of their subjects. Henry's penance, moreover, was self-imposed. The Pope did not desire, much less demand it. The event, often represented as the triumph of a proud pope over a helpless king,

was in reality an advantage won by Henry over his German adversaries.

It is worth while to see how Gregory VII himself describes this memorable happening. The following extracts are taken from two of his letters, one of which he wrote to the German princes in order to prevent misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

"Having laid aside all the belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he (the king) continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. Nor did he desist from imploring with many tears the aid of those who were present there, and whom the report of it had reached, to such pity and depth of compassion, that interceding for him with many prayers and tears, all wondered indeed at the unwonted hardness of our heart, while some actually cried out that we were exercising not the gravity of apostolic severity but the cruelty as it were of tyrannical ferocity. . . . I, seeing him humiliated, having received many promises from him concerning the bettering of his way of living, restored him to the Communion. But only that; I did not reinstate him . . . that I might do justice in the matter or arrange peace between him and the bishops and princes beyond the Alps." (From Henderson, *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages.*)

581. Progress and End of the Contest in Germany. — There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of King Henry IV in making his peace with the Pope. But the good resolutions did not last long. Hardly had he left Canossa, when the numerous simonistic bishops of Lombardy surrounded him and by flatteries and threats of rebellion undid the work of Gregory VII. The vacillating king again disregarded his duty. As soon as this became known in Germany, his numerous adversaries made good their threat and chose another king, Rudolph, Duke of Suabia. After further attempts to restore unity Gregory at last excommunicated Henry again and recognized Rudolph as Roman King. Germany was torn by civil war. Rudolph, indeed, soon fell in a battle. But under the plea of zeal for the Church Henry's own sons claimed the throne and found adherents.

The unfortunate Henry IV died while under the public excommunication. He was not buried in consecrated ground until it was learned,

five years later, that before his death he had desired to be reconciled with the Pope. His son Henry V, who had so far feigned fidelity to the Church, continued the policy of his father with greater violence. Pope Paschal II, high-minded and generous, but better versed in spiritual matters than in secular diplomacy, was no match for the unscrupulous Henry and suffered the utmost humiliation at his hands.

The contest about lay investiture was finished, after nearly fifty years, by a *concordat concluded in the city of Worms*, in 1122. Pope Calixtus II granted that the election of the bishops might take place in the king's presence but without simony. The prelate was to be invested with the temporalities of his see by means of a scepter. This certainly did away with the danger of a wrong interpretation of the ceremony, because the scepter does in no way denote spiritual power. The influence which this arrangement left to the monarch did not necessarily interfere with the liberty of election. It was thought to be excusable on account of the great importance of the ecclesiastical possessions for the crown in Germany.

582. THE CONTEST ABOUT LAY INVESTITURE IN ENGLAND. — The decree against lay investiture was published just nine years after William the Conqueror had won England. He simply refused to give up the evil practice. And since he selected his candidates with great care and promoted none but good men to ecclesiastical offices, Pope Gregory did not urge him any further. (See § 512.) The inevitable clash came under his sons (§§ 506, 507). William Rufus openly trafficked in spiritual offices, and of course clung to lay investiture. While most of the bishops either submitted to, or at least did not oppose the tyrant, St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, became the champion of the rights of the Church. William drove him into exile. Under Henry I he returned, but was forced a second time to leave the country. The king relaxed, however, when threatened with excommunication by the Pope. St. Anselm returned to England. In 1107 it was agreed that there should be no investiture of ecclesiastics

at all, but that the bishops should take an oath of fidelity for their feudal possessions.

The happy conclusion of the fierce struggle did not, in fact, prevent all royal interference with the liberty of the elections. Unscrupulous rulers, high and low, found other means to get their candidates into ecclesiastical positions. The Papacy was not excluded. Charles of Anjou (§ 568), for instance, brought about the election of *his* Pope by the incarceration of two cardinals who would have opposed him.

THE MENDICANT ORDERS

583. Character of the Mendicant Orders. — At the beginning of the thirteenth century there existed a great and ever-growing prosperity all over western Europe. In many quarters it was accompanied by a decrease in morality. Together with greed and avarice went a general luxury and dissipation among the higher classes which rendered the condition of the poor more helpless and degrading. The clergy did not keep entirely free from these evils. The number of worldly-minded ecclesiastics lent color to violent accusations against bishops and priests.

One of the most striking acts of Divine Providence was the establishment of a new kind of religious order, called the *mendicants*, from the Latin *mendicare*, to beg. Our forefathers styled their members *friars*, from the Latin *frater*, brother. In the older orders the unit was the individual house. Though a monk was privately poor (§ 410), the house was supposed to possess property. Self-sanctification was their aim. Hence monastic institutions were originally located in places far remote from the turmoil of the world, on hilltops or in solitary valleys. In the new orders the unit was the whole organization ruled by one general superior; or a " province " consisting of several houses, the members of which might be sent from place to place as conditions required. The houses were to subsist entirely on alms, hence their name. Besides the spiritual perfection of the individual members there was a second purpose; namely, preaching and other priestly and spiritual ministrations. This

made it necessary to locate the residences near the people in villages and cities.

The principal mendicant orders are the Franciscans and Dominicans.

584. The Franciscans. — When St. Francis of Assisi heard the words of the Gospel, " do not possess money in your purses, nor scrip for your journeys, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor a staff," he resolved to carry them out literally. He chose the " Lady Poverty " for his spouse. Soon enthusiastic companions gathered around him, with whom he began to preach, chiefly to the poor and wretched. This was the beginning of the Franciscan Order. It was solemnly approved in 1223 and spread rapidly. Its influence has been wonderful. The friars alleviated the misery of the poor, the sick and forsaken, and taught them by their example and by pointing to the poverty of Jesus Christ to accept their condition with resignation, if not with joy. Many of the higher classes joined the devoted followers of the " poor man of Assisi," and all learned not to look with contempt upon the lowly, and to make a Christian use of the possessions God had granted them. " St. Francis and his companions," says the author of an excellent work on political economy, " have roused in millions of souls the love of poverty, simplicity, and contentedness, in a society which threatened to succumb to the dangers of avarice and greed." Though chiefly devoted to humbler pursuits, the order has given to the Church many learned and otherwise prominent men.

St. Francis encouraged a young lady of Assisi, St. Clare, to become under his direction the founder of an order of women, the *Poor Clares*. They follow a life of great strictness and seclusion from the world.

585. The Dominicans. — After making brilliant studies, St. Dominic, a Spaniard, accompanied his bishop on a journey through southern France. When passing through the districts infested by the Albigensian heresy (§ 543), he noticed that the preachers who tried to convert them indulged too much in the

outward display of pomp, while the leaders of the heretics were known for their abstemious life. This suggested to him the idea of a new order, which would combine the austerities of the older communities with learning sufficient to refute and bring back to the Church the Albigensians and other heretics. The Dominican Order, therefore, besides practicing poverty in a style similar to that of the Franciscans, makes preaching and teaching and the pursuit of learned studies its peculiar end. The order was approved in 1216 and extended very rapidly. It has done great service to the Church in every sphere of piety and charity and above all in combating heresies by means of example and instruction. The "Prince of the Christian Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas (§ 622), belonged to the Sons of St. Dominic.

St. Dominic, too, founded an order of women. The *Dominican Nuns* are bound to an active life of industry and educational work.

Many of the Franciscan and Dominican sisterhoods of our days, which labor so successfully in the fields of education and charity, are institutions of later date with rules based upon those of the two great ancient orders.

CHAPTER XL

THE CRUSADES

THE CHRISTIAN AND THE MOHAMMEDAN ORIENT

586. The Christian Orient: the Byzantine Empire. — To the description of Byzantine culture given in § 411 should be added mention of the endless number of court intrigues and palace revolutions with their revolting cruelties. After Charlemagne's time the Empire constantly diminished in size. Palestine, Syria, Egypt, and northern Africa had been lost in the first onrush of the Mohammedans (§ 421). Slav nations were encroaching from the north upon the European provinces, until about 1000 A.D. the Bulgarian kingdom succumbed to the Emperor Basil II. Armenia and Cilicia, too, were reconquered. But soon after, all Asia Minor was torn away by the Turks and the remnant of the Byzantine possessions in Italy by the Normans (§ 562).

The Great Eastern Schism was the saddest event in the history of this Empire. The bishops of Constantinople had, with the subsequent sanction of the Pope, assumed the title of Patriarch.[1] Though there were among them many eminent and saintly men, others openly championed heresies, or showed too great a subserviency to the emperors. The contempt with which the East now looked down upon the entire West including Rome, and the ignorance of Latin in the East and of Greek in the West, helped considerably to widen the breach between the two parts of Christianity. For several hundred years the schisms caused under these circumstances through the pride of either emperor

[1] See *H. T. F.* under "Schism and Heresy," "Patriarch," "Orient."

or patriarch had been short-lived. But in 1043 the arrogant patriarch Caerularius again fell away, and this time the split remained unhealed. The schism completed the estrangement between the East and the West. It partly accounts for the little sympathy which was given in Constantinople to the western crusaders in their struggle against the common foe of Christianity.

Materially and intellectually the Eastern Empire, though so much reduced in size, remained the most civilized part of the world. Were we transferred into those distant times, nowhere should we find so near an approach to the methods of our own city and state administration, our police system, our own institutions of learning and of public and private charity. And notwithstanding its weakness and losses the Empire had so far fulfilled its *mission of keeping the Mohammedans out of Europe and checking the advance of the semibarbarous nations which inhabited the northern coasts of the Black Sea.*

587. The Mohammedan Orient. — Soon after the death of the Prophet religious dissensions rent the unity of the Mohammedan world. The *Sunnites* admitted, as a rule of their faith, besides the Koran (§ 420), an oral tradition which the *Shiahs* rejected. The latter did not recognize the caliph of Bagdad as the legitimate successor of Mohammed. They set up another caliphate under the " Fatimites " in Egypt and northern Africa with the new city of Cairo as capital. Their power often extended far into Asia.

Meanwhile the actual power of the caliphs of Bagdad had passed to the Seljuk Turks, a Turanian race from east of the Caspian Sea. Caliphs had formed a bodyguard of Turks, which soon became the real power in the state. Its " sultan," a descendant of Seljuk, was the actual ruler, while the caliph remained a religious figurehead.

There existed, therefore, toward the end of the eleventh century, the following Mohammedan powers: in Spain the ever-diminishing caliphate of Cordova; in Egypt and northern

Africa the caliphate of the Fatimites; in Asia the caliphate of Bagdad, ruled in name by the caliphs, in reality by the Seljuk Turks, and divided into several "emirates."

THE CRUSADES

588. Origin and Nature. — The scenes of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Our Lord had always been the most cherished goal of pilgrimages (§ 499). Undaunted by the hardships of the long journey, and their ignorance of countries and languages, thousands set out from all parts of western Europe. The conquest of Palestine by the first caliphs (§ 421) rendered these pious journeys more difficult, as the pilgrims were now obliged to pay a fee for admission to the city. Conditions became much worse when, in 969, the Fatimite caliphs of Egypt became the masters of the Holy Land. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher and countless other churches were destroyed. In 1076 the Seljuk Turks conquered Jerusalem from the Fatimites, subjected the native Christians to unheard-of vexations, and replaced the pilgrims' tax by a system of robbery and extortion. By hundreds and thousands the pilgrims went to Palestine and returned by units and tens to spread the tale of the miseries they had witnessed. Their sad reports brought home to all Christians the shame and humiliation of seeing their most holy places in the power of the infidel.

It seems that Pope Gregory VII (§§ 578 ff.) was the first to conceive the idea of a military expedition for the purpose of ending both the degradation of the Holy Land and the sufferings of the Christians. In 1095, another Pope, Urban II, took this matter vigorously in hand. In a council held at Clermont he appealed to all the Christian nations and rulers to combine in a great undertaking, an armed pilgrimage. His eloquence thrilled the multitudes with holy enthusiasm, and spontaneously from the listening crowds rose the cry, "God wills it! God wills it!" This became the rallying cry for the sacred wars. Wandering preachers roused the population of

THE WORLD
DURING THE
CRUSADES
ENGLAND
London
Winchester
FLANDERS
Cologne
Rheims
Trier
Worms
Metz
Paris
BRITTANY
NORMANDY
KINGDOM OF FRANCE
Clermont
AQUITANIA
Lyons
Geneva
Bordeaux
GASCONY
Vienne
Milan
Turin
Trent
Trieste
Venice
Aigues
Mortes
Arles
PROVENCE
Toulouse
Marseilles
NAVARRE
ARAGON
LEON
CASTILE
PORTUGAL
Lisbon
Toledo
Barcelona
KINGDOM OF
Cordova
Seville
Algeciras
Ceuta
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
THE ALMOHADS
Bona
Tunis
Tripoli
HOLY
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Florence
Pisa
Ancona
Rome
PAPAL STATES
Naples
Brindisi
Barri
Durazzo
Ragusa
Spalato
SERVIA
Belgrade
Vienna
Buda
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY
KINGDOM OF POLAND
Prague
BOHEMIA
BAVARIA
SUEVIA
Palermo
Messina
SICILY
Reggio
Athens
Corinth
Ephesus
Thessalonica
Adrianopolis
Constantinople
Nicaea
Cherson
BLACK SEA
RUSSIA
Tartary (Golden Horde)
BULGARIA
ROMAN EMPIRE
SELJUKS
Iconium
Caesarea
Edessa
Laodicea
Attalia
ARMENIA
Seleucia
Antioch
CYPRUS
Tripolis
Damascus
Acre
Tyre
Rama
Jerusalem
Jaffa
Askalon
Damietta
Alexandria
Cairo
CRETE
BARKA
DOMINIONS OF SALADIN
First Crusade
Second Crusade
Third Crusade
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
West 0° Longitude 10° East from 20° Greenwich 30°
10°
20°
30°
40°

the more distant lands. Those who pledged themselves to the expedition fastened a cross upon their breast — hence the names *crusader* (cross-bearer) and *crusade*. *Thousands and hundreds of thousands took the cross.* Thus began a movement of truly gigantic proportions, the like of which the world has never seen. For two hundred years army upon army of pious volunteers traveled to a far-distant land, underwent incredible hardships, and faced an almost certain death, from the noblest and most unselfish motives. They were prompted by the desire to do penance for their sins, and by other pious considerations, but the mainspring of their enthusiasm was their warm personal devotion to Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, the King of Kings.

True, some crusaders went merely in a spirit of military ardor, or to gain temporal possessions in the land they hoped to conquer. Even baser promptings were not absent. None the less the real cause of the crusades was religious zeal. They were real "Wars of the Cross." The grosser motives helped to rally recruits around a banner which religious enthusiasm had set up.

The crusaders enjoyed many *ecclesiastical privileges*. From the moment a man had taken the cross, the Church forbade under pain of excommunication all attacks, even by law, upon his person or property, until he had returned home. She also granted him what would now be called a plenary indulgence, provided he would keep his vow or die in fulfilling it.

The crusades were one continuous movement. This armed migration went on uninterruptedly for two centuries, from 1096 to 1292 A.D. The *seven or eight crusades* commonly distinguished by historians were merely the highest waves of the incessant flood.

589. The First Crusade. — From nearly all parts of Christendom crusaders flocked together, chiefly from northern France and southern Italy. None of the Christian kings of Europe,[1]

[1] It is evident that neither Henry IV of Germany nor William Rufus of England was apt to become enthusiastic for so unselfish a project as the crusades (§§ 506, 579–582). Philip I of France was not much better but shrewder than both. (*Guggenberger*, I, § 390.)

but a number of prominent vassal princes joined this crusade. The most renowned of them is Godfrey of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine. A papal legate supplied in some measure the lack of centralization in the command.

A multitude of more than three hundred thousand, the chroniclers report, set out with the princes in the spring of 1096. The Greek Emperor, who had himself been imploring the Pope for help, now that the crusaders arrived in his dominions, gave them little assistance. They overcame the Turkish army which opposed their advance in Asia Minor. During their further march their numbers were considerably reduced by want of every kind. Still they conquered Edessa, beyond the Euphrates, and the strongly fortified city of Antioch in Syria.

A Crusader

From a thirteenth-century manuscript, now in the British Museum, London.

The following year *they took Jerusalem* after a desperate resistance on the part of the Mohammedans. Godfrey was the first of the princes to leap from his siege tower upon the walls of the city. Then followed scenes which will ever remain a disgrace to the crusaders. Incensed by the fierce resistance and probably fearing new dangers, they put to death the whole garrison and nearly all the Mohammedan inhabitants. Three days later, clad in white garments, they went in solemn procession to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher and the other sacred places of Jerusalem.

590. Results of This Crusade. — The crusaders erected the country of Palestine into a *Kingdom of Jerusalem*, and elected as its king their most popular and best-beloved hero, Godfrey of Bouillon. But Godfrey refused to wear a royal diadem in a place where Jesus Christ had worn a crown of thorns, and styled himself Protector of the Holy Sepulcher. His worthy brother and successor, Baldwin, admitted the royal title. Several

smaller "Latin" states[1] were formed along the coast and beyond the Euphrates as fiefs of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. (See map on page 462.) The crusaders knew of no system of government except feudalism. So each ruler divided his lands in feudal fashion among his followers who cared to remain in Palestine. Churches, monasteries, and other Catholic memorials soon marked all the spots which are sanctified by Our Lord's life and actions. French became the language of the Christian settlers, who, however, were confined to the larger places. The open country remained, for the most part, in the power of hostile Mohammedans, and traveling was very unsafe.

591. The Knightly Orders. — The Latin States possessed rather precarious resources. Their existence depended on the influx of new volunteers from western Europe. Nor did the rulers themselves always act in unison with one another. The never failing fertility of the Church came to the rescue. Unselfish noblemen formed themselves into new religious orders, and devoted their whole lives to the fight against the infidels. They admitted also priests to look after their own and their subordinates' spiritual welfare both in the field and at home; and they had "brothers" to take care of domestic affairs, or, occasionally, to command detachments of infantry. The Order of the *Knights Templar* was founded in 1118; the Order of the *Knights of St. John* a few years later; and the *Teutonic Order* in 1197.[2] These bands of devoted warriors, who had renounced all earthly ambition, supplied much of the fighting force that was necessary to maintain, in the absence of a numerous influx of armed pilgrims, the hold of the Christian West upon the distant Latin States.

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[1] All the states founded by the crusaders are called "Latin," because their priests used Latin in their services, not some Oriental language as did the native priests.

[2] The present Knights of St. John, who are organized in so many Catholic parishes, are not connected with the ancient order. Much less have the Knights Templar of to-day, a prohibited society, anything to do with the Knights Templar of crusading fame.

KINGDOM OF ARMENIA
COUNTY OF EDESSA
Edessa
Tarsus
Antioch
Aleppo
Euphrates
PRINCIPALITY OF ANTIOCH
DOMINION OF ATABEKS
(Mohammedans)
Apamia
ASSASSINS
CYPRUS
Tortosa
COUNTY OF TRIPOLI
Tripoli
EMIRATE OF DAMASCUS
Damascus
Sidon
Tyre
Toron
Acre
Hattin
Tiberias (Galilee)
Nablus
Jaffa
Ibelin
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Bethlehem
Kerak
KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM
FATIMITE CALIPHATE
Montreal
THE CRUSADING LATIN STATES IN SYRIA
DURING THE
TWELFTH CENTURY
(AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT)

The crusaders were almost always forced to fight against vastly superior numbers. Next to Divine Providence their victory is due to their incredible bravery and boldness. Greater daring and prowess and more display of skill and physical strength the world probably has never seen. The well-deserved renown of invincible valor contributed largely to the relative security of the Christian conquests.

592. Some letters from the crusaders give curious and interesting side lights on their motives and feelings. One of the leaders was Stephen, Count of Blois, who had married a daughter of William the Conqueror and was the father of the young prince afterward known as King Stephen of England (§ 536). In 1098, from before Antioch, Stephen sent to his "sweetest and most amiable wife" the following letter: —

CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH
An old representation.

"You may be sure, dearest, that my messenger leaves me before Antioch safe and unharmed, through God's grace. . . . We have been advancing continuously for twenty-three weeks toward the home of our Lord Jesus [since leaving Constantinople]. You may know for certain, my beloved, that I have now twice as much of gold and silver and of many other kinds of riches as when I left you. . . . You must have heard that, after the capture of Nicaea, we fought a great battle with the perfidious Turks, and by God's aid, conquered them. . . . These which I write you are only a few things, dearest, of the many which we have done. And because I am not able to tell you what is in my mind, I charge you to do right, to watch over your land carefully, to do your duty as you ought to your children and your vassals. . . ."

593. The Second Crusade (1147–1149). — In 1147 Europe was alarmed by the fall of Edessa, the farthest outpost of the Christian power. Pope Eugene III at once called upon all the Christians for a second great effort on behalf of the Holy Land. He commissioned St. Bernard (§ 501) to preach a new crusade.[1]

[1] When the great preacher entered the cathedral of Speyer, the *Salve Regina* was being chanted. Deeply moved by the devotion of the immense crowd he is said to have added the words, *O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo*

Conrad III, Roman King (§§ 553, 558), and Louis VII of France put themselves at the head of immense forces. But the grand enterprise failed, partly from bad generalship, partly from dissensions among the crusaders. Nevertheless the number of warriors who thus reached Palestine was of considerable assistance to the Latin States.

594. The Third Crusade (1189–1192). — Another Turkish power had meanwhile arisen from among the parts of the Seljuk dominions (§ 587). The chief representative of this power was the redoubtable *Saladin*, who tore province upon province away from the Christian defenders. In 1187 the incredible happened: he entered the Holy City as conqueror. All Christendom was staggered. The greatest three potentates of Europe, *Emperor Frederick Barbarossa*, *King Philip II of France*, and *King Richard I the Lion-Hearted of England*, arranged a third crusade (§§ 526, 542, 558). It was much better organized than either the first or the second. The severest loss of this crusade was the death of the great Emperor, whose enthusiasm and military experience had much to do with the initial successes. The two kings soon fell to quarreling. Philip was the first to return home. Yet the crusade was far from fruitless. Richard and Philip, combining their forces for a time, had reconquered the important coast fortress of Acre. Richard the Lion-Hearted filled the Orient with the terror of his name. Though his brilliant exploits did not lead to the recovery of Jerusalem, he secured other advantages. It is to his credit that the whole coast line was returned to the Christians and strongly fortified, and that free access was guaranteed to the Holy Sepulcher.

"On one occasion, near Emmaus, he (Richard) attacked single-handed a horde of Turks, slew twenty and chased the rest before him. With only fifty knights he scattered another large army at Jaffa. Saladin himself fled before him like a hunted hare." *Guggenberger*, I, § 514.

Maria ("O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary") which have remained attached to the beautiful prayer. They were engraved on the pavement of the Speyer cathedral.

595. The Fourth Crusade (1197–1204). — Contrary to their vow the leaders of this crusade went to the assistance of a dethroned emperor of Constantinople. New and unexpected revolutions caused the crusaders to take the city by storm, to set up a " Latin " emperor, and to parcel out sections of Greek territory to vassal princes. The Republic of Venice occupied a number of cities and islands on the Grecian coast. Pope Innocent III, at first very indignant at this conduct, finally recognized the new states in the just expectation that they would be in sympathy with crusading enterprises. — The " Latin Empire " labored under difficulties similar to those of the Latin States in Asia. In 1261 a Greek potentate reconquered Constantinople and restored Greek rule. Some of the minor states, however, survived to a later date, and the Venetians retained their possessions for centuries.

596. The Other Crusades. — Saladin had obtained possession of Egypt, where he displaced the Fatimite caliphs (§ 587). His realm included the lands from beyond the Euphrates as far as deep into Africa. After his death it broke into several fragments, ruled from Damascus, Cairo, and other capitals. The title of Caliph was still held, at Bagdad, by the powerless successors of once mighty rulers. It was at this juncture that large crusading armies attempted to approach the reconquest of Palestine by securing Egypt. They conquered Damietta, but the fact that Emperor Frederick II, contrary to his solemn promises, failed to come to their aid caused them to lose a good opportunity to regain Jerusalem (§ 566). On account of the unquestionable advantages scored ten years later by this emperor some writers count his pleasure trip to the Holy Land as a separate crusade. In 1244 the last remnants of his gains were lost.

St. Louis IX of France (§ 546) undertook two more crusades. In the years 1248–1254 he fought bravely, first in Egypt and then in Syria, but with little result. In 1270, when an old man, he set out again, this time for Tunis, where, after some successes, he died of fever. " Jerusalem, Jerusalem " and " Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," were his last words. In St. Louis died one of the grandest characters of his times — one in whom were embodied most perfectly all the qualities of the Christian knight, king, and crusader.

This was the last great effort made to obtain possession of the Holy

Land. Although the popes did not give up the idea of a reconquest, the crusading spirit had greatly cooled down in Europe. People thought, too, that in some cases the name of crusade had been used for enterprises the purpose of which was less spiritual than secular.

In 1291 Acre, the last stronghold of the Latins in Palestine, had to be abandoned. The only remnant of all the Latin possessions was the Kingdom of Cyprus, ruled by an old crusading family, which for three hundred years more withstood the assaults of the Crescent.

597. Further History of the Knightly Orders. — *The Knights of St. John* soon conquered, and held for two hundred years, the island of Rhodes, whence they were called the Rhodesian Knights. They were dislodged, after a heroic defense, in 1522, by the Turks. In 1526 Emperor Charles V gave them the island of Malta, and since that time they have been known as the Knights of Malta. The loss of this island in 1798 to the French induced the insignificant remnant of the order to take exclusively to works of charity, *i.e.*, activity in hospitals in peace and war.

Effigies of Knights Templar

From funeral slabs in the Temple Church, London. The crossing of the legs in funeral sculpture indicated a crusader.

The Knights Templar suffered a tragic end. Their vast possessions roused the jealousy and avarice of King Philip IV, the Fair, of France. This unworthy grandson of St. Louis spared no device of intrigue and violence to bring about a condemnation of the order for heresy and immorality. Pope Clement V, without condemning the order, decreed, in 1311, its dissolution. The accusations against the order as such, though unfounded, had undermined its good name. An organization thus slandered was not likely to be joined by young men of respectable families (§ 666).

Toward the close of the crusades in the Orient the *Teutonic Order* finished a crusading enterprise against a pagan nation almost in the heart of Europe. Northwest of the lower Vistula lived the fierce *Prussians*, a race akin to the Lithuanians farther east. They were given to a low kind of idolatry. Like the Saxons of old (§ 433) they admitted no missionaries and harassed the neighboring countries incessantly. St. Adalbert, the "Apostle of the Prussians," and others paid with their lives for attempting to preach the Gospel to them. To end the devastations wrought by these barbarians, Duke Conrad of Masovia [1] invited the Teutonic Order to undertake the conquest and conversion of the Prussians. The conquest, carried on with varying success, required fifty-five years, 1228–1283. For more than a hundred years Prussia, ruled by the knights, was considered the best-governed country of Europe. It was a fief at once of the Empire and the popes. It lasted until the time of the Reformation. (See map after page 480.)

RESULTS OF THE CRUSADES

598. Failure. — The purpose for which so many thousands sacrificed all that was dearest to them, the purpose for which the popes and countless unselfish persons had been laboring incessantly was obtained only in a very imperfect way. For a brief space only were the holiest places in Christendom in the power of Christians. "*This failure was the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Europe.* The Turks could not have conquered, as they did conquer later on, large parts of Europe, had Europe remained mistress of Egypt and Syria. This possession would have forestalled all destruction of civilization, and we should now have more nations of our own kind in Europe" (Niebuhr). Nevertheless the heavy expenses in blood and treasure had not been made entirely in vain.

599. Military Results. — By keeping the Mohammedan powers busy in Asia the crusaders saved the life of the Eastern Empire for two hundred years more. Europe had two more centuries to develop its own civil and political institutions,

[1] Masovia was a part of Poland. Poland had no strong rulers at that time (§ 456).

before the enemy battered at its very gates. It is a significant fact that not ten years after the fall of Acre (§ 596) a Turkish chieftain, *Osman* (Othman), made himself master of some provinces in Asia Minor which the Greeks had reconquered after the first crusade. In Brussa, not a hundred miles from Constantinople, he established in 1299 the center of a *new Turkish power, that of the Osmanic or Ottoman Turks,* which became the terror and scourge of all civilized Europe.

600. Results for the Church. — A great idea, to free the Holy Sepulcher, had taken hold of Christian Europe. To realize this idea heroic efforts were made by individuals and communities, by the millions that went on the crusades, and by other millions — parents, wives, children, and friends — who sympathized with the crusaders, and though remaining at home had fully caught the crusading spirit.[1] The source of this spirit was an intense and enthusiastic and personal love for Jesus Christ. No wonder that Christian life in general became much more brisk and active. No period can boast of so many saints in palace, hut, and convent. The foundation of the mendicant orders (§§ 583 ff.) was a fruit of this new spirit. Shortly before them another order, a very " timely " one, had been established, the " Order of the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of Captives," — a counterpart of the military orders. Many thousand prisoners owe to this order their liberation from horrible servitude. The three military orders and their flourishing condition at a time when membership meant a life of hardship and sacrifice reveal an astonishing amount of lively faith among the higher classes.

The Migration of Nations had inaugurated a great missionary activity. The period of the crusades saw a new revival of apostolic zeal. It was now that final and successful efforts were made for the conversion of the Slavs on the eastern bank of

[1] James J. Walsh (*The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, page 229) thinks that much of the chronicling of crusaders' experiences was done for the sake of the women. (See § 592.)

the Elbe (§§ 455, 551).[1] The Christianization of Prussia (§ 597) was the last step in this progress of the religion of Christ along the coasts of the Baltic. Finland's conversion originated from Sweden at the same period. Lithuania alone in spite of serious efforts remained pagan for a hundred years more. Numerous were the attempts at Christianizing the Mohammedans of northern Africa. Missionaries went even to the Mongols and established a bishopric in Peking, then the capital of the vast Mongolian empire (§ 567). The popes directed, encouraged, and supported all these enterprises.

601. Intellectual Results. — The crusades brought new energies into play, and opened up new worlds of thought. The intellectual horizon widened. Men gained acquaintance with new lands, new peoples, new manners. They became desirous of discovering unknown countries. Crusading thoughts in fact had much to do with the enterprise of Columbus.

The crusaders brought back at once some new gains in science, art, and geographical and medical knowledge; and their romantic adventures furnished heroic subjects for the pen of poet and story-teller — so that literary activity was stimulated, and many histories of the crusades were written. There was a new stir in the intellectual atmosphere, and the way was prepared for a wonderful intellectual uprising. During these two centuries the universities began to rise and the great teachers to gather eager crowds of students about them (§§ 617 ff.). This, too, was the time of the grand development of architecture (§§ 625 ff.).

602. Commercial Results. — As long as the Latin States in Syria lasted, they were *dependent upon Europe for weapons, horses, and even supplies of food.* These things had to be trans-

[1] An amusing incident is told of the conversion of the Pomeranians. A poor monk arrived among them as apostle. They refused to listen to him because they said the Lord of heaven and earth could not have chosen such a beggar for His ambassador. Thereupon St. Otto, the Bishop of Bamberg, went to them, and added to the virtue of an apostle the pomp of a prince. He effected their conversion.

ported by sea; and, during the last crusades, the crusaders themselves usually journeyed by ship. *This stimulated shipbuilding, and led to an increased production of many commodities for these new markets.*

Europeans, too, learned to use sugar cane, spices, dates, buckwheat, sesame, saffron, apricots, watermelons, oils, perfumes, various drugs and dyes, and, among new objects of manufacture, cottons, silks, rugs, calicoes, muslins, damasks, satins, velvets, delicate glassware, the crossbow, the windmill. Many of these things became almost necessaries of life, and, in consequence, commerce with distant parts of Asia grew enormously. For a time, Venice and Genoa, assisted by their favorable positions, monopolized much of the new carrying trade; but all the ports of Western Europe were more or less benefited. This commercial activity called for quicker methods of reckoning, and at this time Europe adopted the Arabic numerals (§ 424).

Money replaced barter. All these commercial transactions called for *money*. The system of barter and of exchange of services by which Europe had largely lived for some centuries was outgrown. In consequence the coinage of money grew rapidly.

603. Political Results. — After money had become common, the relations between tenant and landlord, and lord and vassal, no longer needed to rest upon exchange of services for land. Thus the economic basis of feudalism (§ 468) was weakened or destroyed. The presence of money, too, enabled the kings to collect national revenues, and so to maintain standing armies of well-drilled mercenaries, more efficient than the old feudal arrays. Thousands of barons and knights *never returned from the Orient*, and their fiefs escheated to their lords, frequently to the crown. Moreover, to procure the money wherewith to equip their followers for the crusades the great barons mortgaged their possessions to the kings, and sometimes the smaller vassals sold them outright. And kings as well as great vassals sold charters of rights to the rising towns to obtain money. Thus

the kings acquired a more direct power over their subjects outside the cities, and the cities obtained more liberties and a greater amount of home rule. The townsmen began to figure as the "third estate" beside the higher clergy and the nobles. All this, however, varied greatly in the various countries.

CHAPTER XLI

MEDIEVAL CITIES

CHARACTER OF THE CITIES

604. The origin of the cities has been alluded to repeatedly. In the former Roman provinces there had remained some of the old communities which carried on their municipal life as

SIEGE OF A MEDIEVAL TOWN

From a sixteenth-century copper engraving, showing the summons to surrender.

best they could. This was in particular the case in Italy and southern France (§ 402; for Germany see § 549). Later on human habitations clustered around the convents and the residences of the bishops and kings. In the beginning these settle-

ments remained under the complete control of the lord of the land, the king or his vassal. Soon they obtained special privileges, such as the exclusive right of holding a market for certain districts. Exemption from the lord's court of justice, and a greater or less amount of self-government followed.

Medieval Town Hall of Oudenarde, Belgium

Many and sometimes all of the inhabitants possessed fields in the neighborhood. In fact, a large number of the cities thus created always remained to some extent agricultural. But commerce, carried on on a larger or smaller scale, as well as every kind of handicraft and professional pursuit, stamped all the cities with a quite peculiar character. The increase in money (§ 602) gave a new impetus in the same direction. Thus there arose a division of labor between the town and its rural environs, the latter furnishing the fruits of the fields and the town offering the products of industry and the merchandise imported from elsewhere.

605. External Appearance of the City. — The mean cottages of the country folk gave way to the comfortable and even stately homes of the sturdy townsmen, and the palaces, stores, offices, and warehouses of the merchants. Imposing town halls and other public buildings, and large and splendid churches, further contributed to mark the difference between the country and the city.

For their safety the townsmen would surround their cities as the nobles did their castles with lofty stone walls and deep moats. Access

could not be had except through the well-fortified gates. The citizens themselves were obliged to military service. By turns they mounted guard at the gates or on the high towers of the wall — at least when times were critical; though ordinarily, in cities which could afford it, these duties were intrusted to a few paid officers. The gates were locked at night. During the day no one was admitted unless he gave the men on duty satisfactory assurance of his unobjectionable character.

City Gates at Aigues-Mortes, Southern France

The space inclosed by the walls had to be utilized to the utmost. Hence the streets were narrow and dark. They were nearly always crooked, because the city had grown spontaneously, without much planning. Sewerage and sanitation in general left much to be desired. Nor were the thoroughfares lighted during the night.

The number of inhabitants was much smaller than the renown of many a famous city would lead us to expect. There were some really large cities in Italy, one or another of which could claim more than a hundred thousand people. Some German towns went beyond twenty thousand. But few places anywhere had more than seven thousand. Until 1500 England had only two towns with more than twelve thousand — London and Bristol.

THE GILDS

606. Organization was the watchword of the Middle Ages. The adage, "United we stand, divided we fall," has never been better understood or more systematically carried into effect. Wherever there were people with the same inclinations, aims, and interests, religious or secular, some kind of *gild* (guild, society, confraternity) was sure to arise. The number of these gilds was incredibly large. Yet there was no confusion, partly because of the definiteness of their aims and purposes, partly because all were under the active control of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities.

607. I. The religious gilds were somewhat like our own confraternities and sodalities and pious societies. But on the whole they showed their religious spirit more actively in common practices of piety and in the exercise of charity toward members and non-members. Each had its peculiar devotions and religious festivities. But almsgiving, — from funds collected by the members or from endowments established permanently by benefactors, — the care of the sick, the burial of the dead, and the providing of Masses for deceased members were common to all.

These features, however, were found in the secular gilds as well, because the people could not conceive of any organization which would refuse to profess itself Christian. The greatest event in the yearly round of public religious practices was the participation in the Corpus Christi procession.[1]

608. II. The craft gilds were unions of artisans — weavers, shoemakers, glovers, tanners, and so on. York, a small English

[1] The gilds took a prominent part in the performance of the popular religious dramas. Of these there were two kinds, the *miracle plays*, which enacted events taken from the Bible or from lives of saints; and the *morality plays*, which presented in allegorical form the great truths which ought to govern the life of Christians. Some of these plays have survived, for instance the famous *Everyman*, which was given some years ago in most cities of America. It brings out most forcibly the vanity of all earthly possessions. The performances took place in the open air, and there was of course no charge for the spectators.

city of some three thousand people, had fifty such gilds. Cologne had eighty.

Three grades of workers were distinguished according to their skill in handicraft: masters, journeymen, and apprentices. The *master* alone might set up a shop in which he himself with one or more journeymen and apprentices worked at his craft. It was a diminutive factory, in which the factory owner himself was a worker. His journeymen commonly, and his apprentices always, lived in his house and ate at his table like members of his family. "The master must so faithfully and loyally teach his apprentice that he can one day answer for it to God." "He must take his apprentice to church, and with zeal bring him up in honesty and fear of God, as if he were his own child."

When the stipulated time of the apprenticeship was over, the *apprentice became a journeyman,* and began "journeying" to other towns in order to perfect himself in his trade and see the world. Some years later he presented to the gild officers his *masterpiece,* that is, some piece of work in the line of his particular craft, to show his competency. If it was accepted, he was admitted as master to full membership in the gild.

The gilds were formed by the masters and journeymen, while the apprentices were considered its wards. The real control of gild affairs was in the hands of the masters. But the traveling journeyman enjoyed the protection of the gild in every city where he happened to be occupied. It was greatly conducive to a good understanding between employers and employees, that both belonged to the same organization.[1]

The gilds had their *gild houses,* some of which were quite sumptuous buildings. Here took place the business meetings and the social gatherings and jollifications. Gild life generated a strong corporate feeling, a pride in the *honor of handicraft,* and a desire to turn out work which would be a credit both to the workman and to the profession. The

[1] In some cities this advantage was lost by the formation of separate journeymen's gilds, which, like the unions of our own times, consisted of employees only. Strikes, too, were not of infrequent occurrence in the Middle Ages.

craftsman knew there were other men greater and more powerful than he. But he envied them not. According to Divine Providence the workman, too, was a necessary part of the human family; without him the world could exist as little as without the king. And handicraft had been sanctified by the God-Man Himself.

The gild had its *patron saint*, on whose festival the members in a body attended High Mass, often in their own chapel. Commonly there was a grand procession. A banquet and merrymaking took up the afternoon. Nor were the poor forgotten on such occasions. At Kiel twelve poor people were fed, " and a good piece of beef and a loaf of bread given to twelve poor students."

The gild was based upon the Christian principles of justice and charity. Every member had the right to share in the supply of raw material of any other member by refunding the cost, and all were bound to follow the same methods in the sale of their products. The price fixed by the gild secured the rights of both producer and customer.[1] If a member died poor, the gild paid a pension to his wife and even gave dowries to his daughters. " We shall be repaid by the good God, Who has repaid many."

609. III. The merchant gilds were established for the purpose of obtaining those business advantages which could be secured only by united action. Though, like the craft gilds, essentially of a secular nature, they embodied not only the economic but also the religious and charitable features which were practically

[1] Times have changed since the gilds governed the relation between workman and employer. Our tables and chairs are no longer produced in the craft shop, where a master worked side by side with his journeymen and apprentices. The owner of our furniture factory is no longer on familiar terms with his numerous workmen. Commonly he hardly knows them. The old gild relation cannot be revived except where there is still a sufficiently large number of craftsmen of the old type. Generally speaking we must try to secure by some other method the results formerly obtained by the gilds. Above all it must ever be kept in view that according to the will of God workers and employers are not enemies but friends, neither of whom can get along without the other. The principles which guided the medieval gilds in fixing the amount of wages and prices are still in force and ought to bring about the same result. In his famous encyclical, *On the Condition of the Working Classes*, Pope Leo XIII sets forth in what manner workingmen's societies should be organized in our modern times.

common to all such organizations. On the continent they were of a more aristocratic character than in England. The craft gilds, conscious of their own strength, here and there engaged with them in bloody contests for political privileges in the government of the cities.

It was chiefly due to the activity of the gilds, religious and secular, that "there was practically no unrelieved poverty in the cities during the later Middle Ages. The specter of the modern proletariat, wretched, debased, with no definitely recognized claim upon any social group or institution, had no counterpart in the municipal life of that time." Catholic Encyclopedia, III, page 599.

610. Decline of the Gilds. — The rise of princely despotism about and after the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the religious disintegration induced at that time by the Reformation, greatly contributed to the decline of the gilds. In many places on the continent the gilds practically became benefit societies for a limited number of masters' families and their associates. In some localities, however, gild life retained much of its ancient vigor until well into the nineteenth century.

THE CITIES AS STATES

611. Political Position of the Cities. — The town elected its own officers, and prescribed their powers. Offenses committed within it were tried in its own courts, and were punished by ducking in water, fines, flogging, mutilation, or death. Some of the continental towns inflicted cruel penalties. The town officers, together with the gilds, supervised all industry, in particular the making and selling of articles of food, such as bread, ale, wine, etc. They provided against famine by keeping supplies of grain in the cities' warehouses.[1] They even made regulations for the dress of the several classes, to prevent ex-

[1] In 1540 the burghers of Nuremberg boasted to Emperor Charles V that the bread they offered him had been made from wheat kept in the town granary for 118 years.

travagance. They waged wars on one another, or concluded special treaties regarding trade privileges. Southampton had formal agreements with seventy other English towns. Within twenty years London sent out three hundred letters on such matters to the officials of ninety different towns. On the continent such city leagues were more pronouncedly of a political

The Ducal Palace, Venice

Residence of the doge (duke), the president of the Republic of Venice.

character. We have already noted the powerful Lombard League, which fought against Barbarossa (§ 559).

In England the development was slower than on the continent. The cities found the royal power more firmly established, and they never possessed the independence which was found in many continental cities. But the "Cinque Ports," a league of five towns on the Channel, was able to wage war on its own account with French and Flemish cities. (See also §§ 509, 526, and 534.)

In France the southern towns which had grown from old Roman municipalities (§ 402) were in the beginning almost

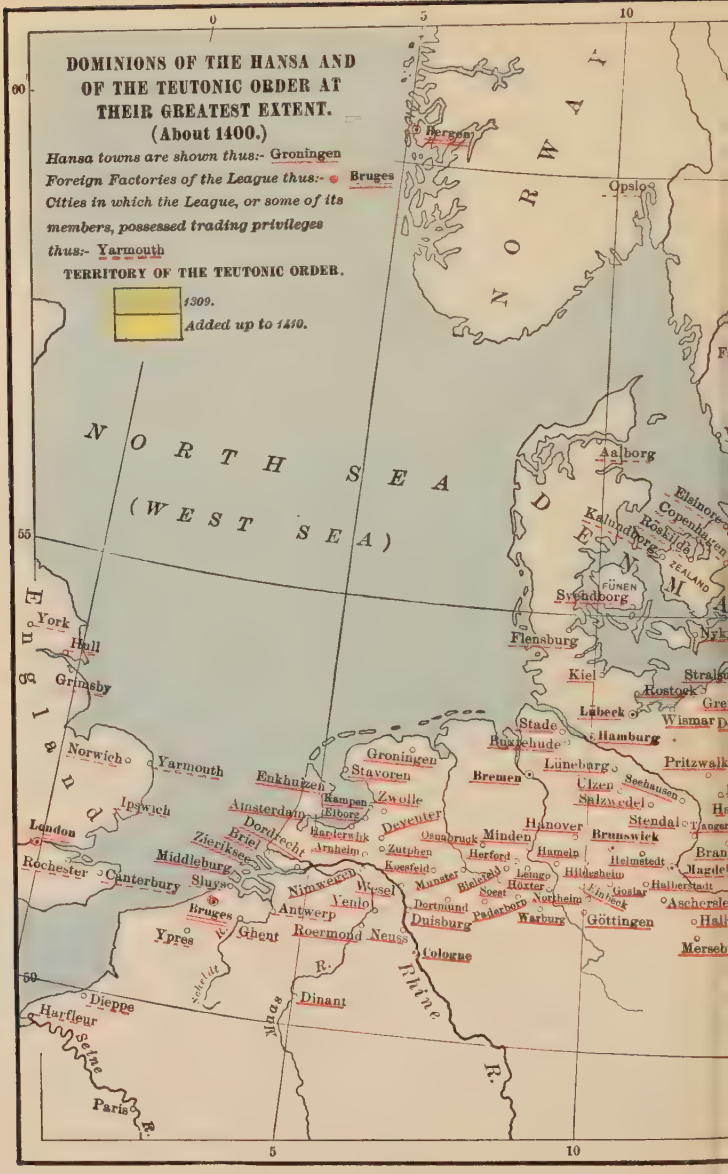
independent. The systematic increase of the royal power (§ 544) encroached upon them to such a degree that by 1400 their early liberties had entirely vanished, and all the French cities were ruled by royal officers.

Northern Italy. — After the imperial power had almost disappeared, the cities grew enormously in wealth, power, and independence, and were practically sovereign (§ 569). Venice

St. Mark's Cathedral, Venice

The present building, which replaced an older one, was erected in 976. Its style is a mixture of the Byzantine and the Romanesque (see § 625). Compare with the pictures on pages 313 and 386.

(never under the emperor) and Genoa retained their position as sovereign republics until the days of the French Revolution. Many other cities fared differently. In the incessant wars between town and town, able generals found opportunities to become, first the most prominent men, then the rulers of their fellow citizens. In this way, after a long period of free city life, there appeared dukedoms and other principalities in northern


DOMINIONS OF THE HANSA AND OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER AT THEIR GREATEST EXTENT.
(About 1400.)
Hansa towns are shown thus:- Groningen
Foreign Factories of the League thus:- Bruges
Cities in which the League, or some of its members, possessed trading privileges thus:- Yarmouth
TERRITORY OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.
1309.
Added up to 1410.
NORWAY
NORTH SEA
(WEST SEA)
DENMARK
England
Bergen
Opslo
Aalborg
Elsinore
Copenhagen
Roskilde
Kalundborg
ZEALAND
FÜNEN
Svendborg
Flensburg
Kiel
Rostock
Lübeck
Wismar
Stade
Buxtehude
Hamburg
Lüneburg
Pritzwalk
Bremen
Ulzen
Seehausen
Salzwedel
Stendal
Hanover
Brunswick
Minden
Hamein
Helmstedt
Hildesheim
Goslar
Halberstadt
Göttingen
Warburg
Northeim
Paderborn
Hoxter
Leingo
Bielefeld
Munster
Dortmund
Duisburg
Cologne
Neuss
Roermond
Venlo
Wesel
Nimwegen
Antwerp
Ghent
Bruges
Sluys
Middleburg
Zieriksee
Dordrecht
Amsterdam
Elborg
Kampen
Zwolle
Deventer
Harderwijk
Arnheim
Zutphen
Kuesfeld
Osnabruck
Herford
Stavoren
Groningen
Enkhuizen
Ipswich
Norwich
Yarmouth
London
Rochester
Canterbury
Ypres
Dieppe
Harfleur
Paris
Dinant
Maas R.
Rhine R.
Seine R.
York
Hull
Grimsby
0
5
10
60
55
50

20
25
30
60
55
50
Abo
Gulf of Finland
Neva R.
Reval
Esthland
1346
Novgorod
Stockholm
DAGO
Dorpat
Pernau
Pskof
ÖSEL
Livland
1237
Wenden
Wisby
Windau
Riga
Kurland
Mitau
Dvina
Dünaburg
R.
Polotsk
Vitebsk
1384
Memel
Niemen
Kovno
ORNHOLM
Konigsberg
Rudau
Oliva
Braunsberg
Stolp
Danzig
Elbing
Marienburg
Kolberg
Pomerania
1310
Dirschau
Prussia
Grodno
Löbau
Kulm
Kulmerland
Thorn
1328-43
Bug
R.
Pripet
R.
Vistula
Kalisz
R.
Breslau
R.
Krakow

Italy instead of the ambitious municipalities. Chief among these were the dukedoms of Milan under the families of the Visconti and Sforza, and Mantua under the Gonzagas. Later on the Medici held a similar position in Florence.

612. In Germany the cities rose to be a great political power. They obtained their privileges partly from the king, partly from the vassal lords, the bishops included. Some fifty cities gained freedom from all control of subordinate princes, and became directly subject to the king (or emperor) alone. As "free and imperial cities" they were the equals of the princes in rank. They kept this position until the times of Napoleon I, *i.e.*, the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Like the cities in other countries the German towns frequently combined in city leagues, chiefly to secure safe transit for their commerce by land and sea. Important and mighty were the *Rhenish League* and the *Suabian League*, and more so than all the rest combined, the *Hansa*.

The Hanseatic League ("Hansa," — an old German word for "union") was composed of eighty *northern* German towns. It grew, about 1300, out of earlier unions of small groups of cities; and it was organized to protect trade against pirates and robbers, and to secure greater *advantages in foreign countries* than single cities could secure for themselves. It established colonies, or "factories," in foreign cities, as in London, Novgorod, Bergen, Bruges, and Wisby. The Hanseatic settlement in London was known as the *Steelyard*. The importance of the Hansa in English trade is indicated by the fact that the coin (pound) of the "Easterlings" (from the East, or Baltic, Sea) became the "pound sterling" in English currency; and the trustworthy character of their wares is shown by the meaning of the word "sterling" in our language. By friendly transactions or by war, the Hansa won trading privileges from the kings of England and other northern countries. The Hansa flag floated over nearly every merchant ship of the northern seas. *The Hansa declined* partly because of internal dissensions; partly because the German princes in whose territory the cities lay grew jealous and ordered them to discontinue their membership; partly because the governments of the foreign countries in the north gained more strength and resented German commercial influence. The Hansa, however, still exists in three of its members, Hamburg, Lübeck, and Bremen, which,

in 1871, entered the new German Empire on the footing of sovereign states.

613. Conclusion. — For a time it almost seemed as if the future of Europe belonged to the enterprising cities and not to the kings and their larger states, so mighty were the city leagues. We may regret that the ascendency of these thriving little commonwealths declined, and we cannot but disapprove of many of the conditions which brought about this decline. Had their power kept increasing, however, it would have broken up larger national life and reduced all Europe to fragments like the powerless city states of ancient Greece.

CHAPTER XLII

LEARNING AND ARTS

LITERATURE

614. Latin Literature. — The language of the learned was Latin and remained so for many centuries. Among the Latin productions of the Teutonic period we may mention particularly many *historical* works and the lives of saints and other prominent persons.[1] Peculiar to the time are the *chronicles*, which simply record, under each year, the important events without trying to connect them in any way. Some of them are confined to localities, convents, or churches; others, *e.g.*, the famous Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, take in a whole nation. Chronicles are not history proper, but they furnish material to the historians.

Many of these writings, lives of saints particularly, contain much legendary matter. Those were not critically inclined times (§ 499). People believed in the possibility of miracles, and in a kindly Divine Providence. They were right so far. But in their credulity they often accepted the reports of miraculous events without investigation. Then, just as with writers of our own days, they were subject to bias for or against certain rulers or nations or institutions. Yet all this leaves a very considerable number of reliable sources from which to draw knowledge of the period.

Poetry, too, at first, usually chose a Latin dress. Charlemagne's literary circle could boast of a goodly number of creditable poetical productions, which did not remain without imita-

[1] In his *Readings in European History*, Vol. I, James H. Robinson enumerates and briefly describes the chief historical sources for the Middle Ages. But this bibliography (placed at the end of the several chapters) can give but a faint idea of the large number of books from which historians draw their knowledge of those times.

tions. The period of the Ottos had the honor of being glorified by a poetess, the nun Hroswitha, whose fertile and not unskillful pen produced a number of simple Latin dramas and panegyrical poems of considerable merit. Several epics, also, belong to the same period. The copious literature of the "Schoolmen" will be dealt with in a later chapter (§§ 619 ff.).

The struggle carried on by the Church for a more dignified and virtuous life in the clergy and against the encroachments of the secular power had an enlivening influence upon the whole intellectual life of Europe (§ 576 ff.). A similar effect in every field of medieval activity followed the general stir caused by the crusades (§ 601).

615. Literature in National Languages. — At the time of the crusades the national languages began to be used much more extensively. Charlemagne had cultivated his German. Alfred the Great had introduced the tongue of Anglo-Saxon England into his prose writings. A number of poetical works had appeared in the course of several centuries in the languages of the people. Now this use became general. The following are a few of the important productions of the period.

Under the Hohenstaufens Germany developed lyric poetry of a high perfection. The chief theme of its *minnesingers* was love. Southern France had its *troubadours* with their amatorial songs, many of them notoriously corrupt. Spain produced the *Song of the Cid* (the national hero in the conflict with the Moors). In northern France the *trouveurs* celebrated King Arthur and his Table Round or the adventures of Charlemagne and his (real or fictitious) companions. An unknown German poet wove part of the national legends into a stately epic, the *Nibelungenlied*. The ballads of the north were shaped into the *Heimskringla* by a bard in far-off Iceland. These medieval works and many others richly repay careful reading.

But the grandest product of medieval poetry is the *Divine Comedy* of the Italian Dante, "the most astonishing poem in the world, dwarfing all others." Under the allegory of a journey through Hell, Purgatory, and Heaven, the poet gives expression to the most sublime thoughts that nature and faith can furnish. Comparing him with Virgil, the great Roman, a critic says: "Dante is even truer in description than

Virgil, whether he paints the snow falling in the Alps, or the homeward flight of the birds, or the swelling of an angry torrent. But under this gorgeous pageantry there lies a unity of conception, a power of philosophic grasp, an earnestness of religion, which to the Roman poet is entirely unknown." (Walsh, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, page 317.)

SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES

616. The Monastic and Cathedral Schools. — Before the inroads of the Northmen the schools of the Irish monasteries were celebrated throughout Europe (§§ 405; 451, 2). On the continent Charlemagne's enlightened efforts gave a new impetus to school education (§ 440). It was in the convent and cathedral schools established or renewed in consequence of his encouragement, and in similar institutions of later date, that the authors of the literature of the times (§ 614 ff.) had received their education. (The instruction in mathematics and natural sciences, however, was of a very primitive character.) The causes mentioned at the end of § 614 produced a decided improvement. They brought about the establishment of universities, a means of instruction beyond which mankind has not as yet advanced.

617. The universities came into being gradually. The oldest, Bologna in Italy, grew from the famous schools of law of that city. That of Paris began as an expansion of the school attached to the cathedral of Notre Dame. Several universities were started by dissatisfied students and professors seceding from other institutions. Thus Oxford in England owes its beginning to such a secession from Paris; the University of Pavia is an offshoot of Bologna.

The teachers of a university were divided into several *faculties* for the various branches: theology, philosophy, medicine, law. What natural science there was went under philosophy. *A faculty of arts* gave the preliminary education, chiefly in the classics, — a course more or less resembling that covered in our high schools and colleges combined. The professors of each faculty elected a *dean* as their head; the whole university was

under an elective *rector*. In those days it was evident that in all questions of education the pope must have a decisive influence: in each university he was represented by the *chancellor*, who gave the teaching license to those whom the university had appointed.

The universities were completely cosmopolitan. One language, Latin, served for the lectures as well as for daily intercourse among professors and students. A German might be elected rector in Paris, or an Englishman in Bologna. The students flocked together from all countries indiscriminately. In the university each student belonged to a certain *nation*, which did not necessarily coincide with the nation from which he came. In Paris there were four "nations," the French, the Normans, the Picards, the English; the English nation embraced all the students from the northern countries, including the Germans. In Bologna there was one great division between those from Italy and those from "Beyond the Mountains," each class being again subdivided into some twenty "nations."

The universities soon procured great ecclesiastical and civil privileges. Teachers and students became exempt from the local magistrates. The institution thus was a republic in itself. The students were tried and punished for excesses not by royal or city courts but by the university authorities.

The young man who passed the examination at the end of his course in "arts" was declared *Baccalaureus Artium*, Bachelor of Arts. Many were satisfied with this. Those who stayed for higher studies selected one of the other branches. The goal of their ambition was the title of *Doctor* (Teacher) in their profession. (In some universities the title of *Magister*, Master, was equivalent to Doctor.)

The examination contained a written and an oral test but the oral was the more important. Besides the lectures of the professors there was a constant round of oral *repetitions* and above all numerous debates or *disputations*. Lent was the special season for disputations, and they were from time to time held with great pomp and ceremony.

The first universities rose more or less spontaneously. The later ones were formally established by popes or, with the pope's coöperation, by secular princes, until by 1400 about fifty of them dotted western

Europe. The number of students was certainly very large, though such figures as, for Paris, 30,000, have been proved to be exaggerations.

With the rise of these new institutions of learning the older schools did not disappear. Some affiliated with the universities. Others ceased to teach the higher branches and found their place as preparatory schools, corresponding to the faculty of arts in the universities.

618. The Students of the Universities. — The student body commonly contained men in civil and ecclesiastical positions, not to speak of numerous nobles. Even cardinals are mentioned as students. For poor scholars liberal provisions were made. Medieval life was more fluid than we can easily comprehend. Merchants, soldiers of fortune, friars, journeymen (§ 608), were always on the move. But the wandering scholar was in eminence. The laws of many countries afforded him special protection, though he often begged his bread. With the secular priests and in the monasteries large and small, he commonly met with a kind reception. (Even now in places which have remained Catholic the young student is the welcome guest of the priest and of those monastic institutions which have survived the ravages of time.) Young men thought nothing of passing from Oxford to Paris or Pavia to sit at the feet of some new famous teacher, and to see the world, — another kind of education. They often traveled in bands with much jollity and song and sometimes with much disorder.

DOCTRINES AND TEACHERS IN THE UNIVERSITIES

619. University teaching embraced everything that was considered worth knowing. The principal branch was *theology*, that is, the revealed tenets of Christianity. The Bible and the decrees of councils and of popes, as well as the writings of earlier authors, were the object of detailed study. Even when not studied as a special branch, they formed the groundwork of all other theological teaching. Next came *philosophy*, that is, the knowledge of things from merely natural sources. The philosopher of the Middle Ages, like his predecessor of ancient Greece, tried to penetrate by reasoning into the very essence of things, starting from what is known to everybody, and driving his conclusions to what is knowable by dint of deeper thinking.

Theology as well as a good deal of philosophy had been studied and taught from the beginning of Christianity. But at this

period another method, though not altogether a new one, was employed. This is called *Scholasticism* (school method), and the great teachers who used it are the *Scholastics* or the *Schoolmen*. Scholasticism of course does not teach new doctrines. But it teaches them in a peculiar systematic way.

(1) All the various tenets bearing on one point are brought together, those for instance on the Blessed Trinity, or the Redemption, or Original Sin. Thus the entire doctrine appears as one great organism. This had never been done to such an extent. Now it became the rule. The catechisms of to-day have the same feature. In fact they are tiny extracts of scholastic theology.

(2) Scholasticism not only adduces proofs for every individual point of doctrine, but it also shows the connection between various points, and everywhere compares expressly the natural knowledge of philosophy with that received from God by supernatural revelation.

(3) The constant appeal to natural wisdom for the purpose of proving, explaining, and appreciating the great truths of faith is perhaps the most striking peculiarity of Scholasticism.

As to the relation between theology and philosophy, the Schoolmen as well as all Christians hold that there can be no contradiction between the truths revealed directly by the God of Truth and Wisdom and those embodied by the same God in the visible works of His hands. The latter truths are studied by philosophy and the natural sciences; the former make up the articles of our faith. An opposition between the two can exist in appearance only, and evidently, in case of such an apparent opposition, we must not presume revelation to have erred but philosophy.

620. Arabic Influence — Aristotle. — As the first universities had grown out of the older schools, so they continued in the traditions received from former institutions. But about the beginning of the thirteenth century western Europe became acquainted through the Arabs with the complete works of *Aristotle*, the greatest of the ancient Greek philosophers, of which little had been known before. (See § 188.) Soon copies

of the original Greek text were obtained through the Greeks in the East, and better translations made. These books worked a real revolution. Aristotle's books, supplemented by the master hand of St. Thomas and other prominent teachers, became the foundation of all philosophical studies. Aristotle was *The Philosopher*.

This was the only influence exerted by Arab philosophers on Scholasticism. None of the *philosophic tenets* of the Schoolmen have been taken from original Arabic books. The attacks of Mohammedans on Christianity, however, forced the Christians to study many points more explicitly than they would have done otherwise.

In the line of *natural sciences* the Arabs rendered valuable services. In medicine, geography, mathematics, chemistry, and physics, they transmitted much positive knowledge to the eager scholars of the new universities.

Friar Teaching the Globe
From a thirteenth-century manuscript.

621. Some of the Prominent Schoolmen. — (1) **Saint Albert the Great** (died 1280), a German nobleman, joined the Order of St. Dominic in 1223. He taught at Paris and other places, but chiefly at Cologne, and everywhere eclipsed his fellow professors. Prominent as theologian and philosopher, he is from our standpoint more remarkable as a scientist. In one of his books he describes, for instance, all the trees and herbs known at his time, and adds: "All that is here set down is the result of our own observation, or has been borrowed from authors whom we know to have written what their personal

experience confirmed: for in these matters experience alone can give certainty."

Modern scientists fully appreciate his works. "He was acquainted with the sleep of plants, with the periodical opening and closing of blossoms, with the diminution of sap through evaporation from the cuticle of the leaves, and with the influence of the distribution of the bundles of vessels on the folial indentations." "He considers that from the equator to the South Pole the earth is not only inhabitable but in all probability actually inhabited, except directly at the Poles, where he imagines the cold to be excessive. If there be any animals there, he says, they must have very thick skins which are probably of a white color. The intensity of the cold is, however, tempered by the action of the sea. He smiles at the simplicity of those who suppose that persons living at the opposite region of the earth must fall off." (Walsh, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*, pages 48 and 50.) He was indeed much in advance of his age. The uneducated among his contemporaries began to suspect him of witchcraft.[1]

622. (2) **St. Thomas Aquinas** (died 1274). — One of Blessed Albert's greatest merits is to have trained the "Prince of the Schools," St. Thomas Aquinas. St. Thomas, born at Roccasecca, in Italy, was a relative of Emperor Frederick II. When still rather young he joined the Dominican Order. He taught chiefly in Paris and at Italian institutions. His renown was so great that once, when he returned to Paris, the king and the whole city came out to meet him. During his twenty years of teaching he wrote his numerous works, which cover most of the subjects of theology and philosophy, natural sciences included. His mind was both speculative and constructive. Dominating in his works is the idea of the fundamental unity of knowledge, arising from the fact that all truths emanate from the One God either by nature or by revelation. Indeed no Christian scholar has ever taught the contrary, but nobody

[1] In connection with our previous chapter on the cities it will be of interest to know that this Dominican friar and university professor was repeatedly appealed to as arbiter in the quarrels of the city of Cologne with its several antagonists, among whom was the archbishop himself. "From this time dates the most flourishing period of the commerce of Cologne."

before St. Thomas put forth the idea so forcibly and with such a complete command of all the results obtained by previous thinkers. St. Thomas was eminently a common-sense man. He took the good things he discovered in Greek, Arabic, and even Jewish, works; improved on them wherever his keen intellect detected errors or shortcomings; and then each found its place in *the system* which he was building up, — the fundamental lines of which were radiating from the One God of Wisdom and Truth.

His books in print fill nineteen folio volumes, and have been translated from their original Latin into many languages, including Hebrew. His most important work is the *Summa Theologica*, a comprehensive and systematic presentation of the entire field of theology and philosophy. Perhaps no work possesses in a higher degree all the characteristics of the scholastic method. It still is and will ever remain the classic in the Catholic schools of theology and philosophy. Albert the Great surpasses him in extensiveness of knowledge. But it was the providential task of St. Thomas to be the *organizer of Christian learning*.

623. (3) **Roger Bacon** (died 1294?) was probably another disciple of Albert the Great.[1] This brilliant English Franciscan for some time enjoyed the greatest renown as professor at Oxford University. He was a good philosopher and correct theologian, though in philosophy he adhered to a few outlandish opinions. But he was above all an extremely progressive scientist. His *Great Work* is a cyclopedia of thirteenth-century knowledge in geography, mathematics, music, and physics.

He had learned of the ocean east of China, and speculated convincingly upon the possibility of reaching Asia by sailing west into the Atlantic. He prophesied that in time wagons and ships would move "with incredible speed," without the help of horses or sails, and also that man would learn to navigate the air.

It is to be deplored that this able and indefatigable scholar did not

[1] Roger Bacon, the thirteenth-century friar, must not be confused with Francis Bacon, his countryman, of three centuries later.

possess the character of an Albert the Great, whom he called ignorant and presumptuous. Friar Bacon ran amuck against the papal court, the bishops, the mendicant orders, the scholastic method, and all preachers and teachers in Christendom. Many of the things against which he inveighed were real abuses. But his inconsiderate ways made him many enemies. The superiors of his order silenced and even imprisoned him, while it appears that Pope Clement IV took his side. "Had he possessed as much prudence as scientific insight, he would probably have succeeded in his reforms and conferred inestimable benefit on scholastic philosophy. Albert, who was less of an innovator than Bacon, contributed far more than Bacon did to the advancement of science in the thirteenth century." (Turner, *History of Philosophy*, page 339.)

624. Conclusion. — It would take too much space to give even the names of the most prominent of the Scholastics. In particular, St. Bonaventura, and the "subtle doctor," Duns Scotus, both of the Order of St. Francis, would deserve more than a passing notice.

As time went on dissensions arose amongst the Scholastics themselves. All agreed in the dogmas of faith, and in all important philosophical questions as well. But in points not so directly bearing on revealed truths they reserved the liberty of disagreeing, unless forced by proofs which they themselves recognized as valid. These disputes at times assumed a character little in keeping with professorial dignity or even with Christian charity, and considerably retarded progress in theological and philosophical investigation. Yet they leave intact the immense merits of the scholastic system as such.

The other branches of learning were studied with equal vigor in the universities. Albert the Great and Roger Bacon were by no means the only representatives of natural science. As a matter of fact, however, this study declined in the course of the fourteenth century. The great minds of the time were taken up with theological and philosophical controversies, and, on the other hand, the popular mind does not seem to have been prepared for great progress in this line. *That the Church officially opposed the sciences is an entirely unwarranted assertion.*

ARCHITECTURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

625. The Older Styles of Architecture. — When the Christians were enabled, by the Decree of Milan (§ 370), to exercise their religion freely and to erect temples to the true God, they chose the *basilica type* for their churches (§ 340). During many centuries this style of building remained in vogue. However, in the countries of the Greek Empire it was partly replaced by the *Byzantine style.* In this style of building the whole structure is chiefly formed of cupolas (rotundas) or semicupolas. (See picture on page 480.)

Although there was little architectural activity during the centuries of the Teutonic invasions, nevertheless a new style came slowly into practice. By the year 1000 the churches were built in the *Romanesque style.* In northern Italy it was called the Lombard style, in England the Norman style. The churches built in this style, generally, were larger and higher; their ground plan assumed the form of a cross; instead of a ceiling, a round-arch vault was employed; and they commonly had several towers which appeared as an integral feature of the structure. (See pictures in §§ 493 and 498.)

626. The Gothic style developed from the Romanesque. (Its name has nothing to do with the ancient Goths, just as Romanesque does not mean Roman.) It originated in northern France, whence it spread to all Christian countries. In Italy and Spain, however, it never became really dominant. The architects desired to do away with certain limitations of the Romanesque style. The semicircular arch used in this style had to be exactly half as high as it was wide. The round ceiling rested on the whole extent of the walls, which consequently had to be very strong and could not be weakened by many and large windows. The builder of the twelfth century introduced the *pointed arch,* which admits of a great variety as to width and height. He broke up the vault of the ceiling by inserting cross ribs, which transferred the weight of the vault to several

INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL OF REIMS, FRANCE

The style is Gothic. Note the difference in height between the main aisle (nave) and the side aisles, the arrangement of windows, the ribbed ceiling, and the character of the pillars. This picture was taken from the sanctuary.

points of the wall. To give to these few points the necessary strength, he employed *buttresses*, *i.e.*, he thickened the wall just at these points. Very often he used "flying buttresses" (see picture below). Both buttresses and flying buttresses could be

NOTRE-DAME CATHEDRAL, PARIS

The style is Gothic. Note the flying buttresses, which, however, are not so ornamental here as in many other churches. The beautiful towers, unfortunately, have not been finished. See also the picture in § 499.

so devised as to add to the grace and richness of the building. The walls might now be made lighter, and pierced by more and larger windows.

The structure rose still more in height. The ground plan retained the shape of a cross. The towers, commonly fewer in number than in the Romanesque style, presented less massive

sides. Everywhere the vertical line began to dominate the horizontal. The entire structure grew into one *Sursum Corda* (lift up your hearts) expressed in stone. Many people consider the Gothic churches the grandest buildings man has ever devised.

CATHEDRAL OF METZ

Compare with the description in the text. Compare the flying buttresses with those in the preceding picture.

The secular buildings of the Gothic period, too, have the peculiar character of that style, though they commonly do not possess all of its characteristic features. But the grand city halls of Flanders and Germany (see picture on page 473), the manors of medieval England,

and the castles of northern France show the splendid possibilities of the Gothic architecture in lines distinct from church building.

627. The other fine arts were practiced chiefly in connection with and in dependence on architecture and were therefore less developed. The painter's chief object was to adorn the interiors of cathedrals and other buildings with pictures and decorations. He had not yet quite learned how to introduce perspective (§ 22) or to represent the members of the human body in the correct proportion, though a very creditable beginning had been made. The sculptor produced statues and reliefs for decorative purposes, many of which are of considerable value. Numerous admirable works testify to the skill of the goldsmith and the carver in wood and other materials. Books, all handwritten, were the object of loving care. We find them illuminated with beautiful initials and miniature pictures, and bound in the most artistic covers.

PART EIGHT: FROM THE CRUSADES TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

CHAPTER XLIII

FRANCE AND ENGLAND AFTER THE CRUSADES

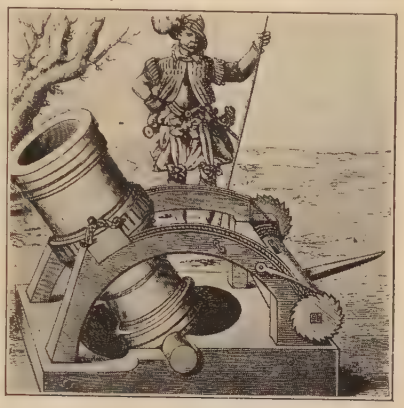
In the period between the end of the crusades and the end of the Middle Ages we find these two countries occupied in the so-called "Hundred Years' War." This was a series of expeditions separated by two periods of peace and covering the years 1338–1453. In England it was followed immediately by civil war, the "Wars of the Roses" which lasted thirty years. But during the Hundred Years' War, in particular during a long period of peace, important things happened in England, which will claim our attention.

THE FIRST TWO PERIODS OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

628. Opening of the Struggle. — When Edward III came to the throne (1327–1377) most of England's old possessions in France had been lost; but he was still Duke of Aquitaine, — and, in name, a vassal of the French king for that province. Like Edward I, the third Edward strove strenuously, — but vainly, — to unite Scotland to England by arms. The French king continued to give aid to Scotland. Therefore, in 1338, Edward gladly seized an excuse to declare war on France. Thus began the "Hundred Years' War," 1338–1453. This war was, however, also commercial in purpose. England wanted markets for her products. In particular her merchants wanted to sell their wool in the manufacturing towns of the French province of Flanders without being trammeled by French restrictions and tolls.

To strengthen his position, Edward set up a fanciful claim to the French crown;[1] and from that time until the nineteenth century, each English king kept also the title "King of France."

629. The war was waged on French soil. The English gained brilliant victories, overran France repeatedly, and brought home much plunder. "No woman," says an English chronicler, "but had robes, furs, *feather beds*, and utensils, from French cities." England was prosperous, too, in the early period of the war. The people felt none of its direct ravages, — except for occasional raids by Norman pirates on the coast, — and for many years they bore cheerfully the cost of campaigns abroad.



A Bombard

From a sixteenth-century German woodcut. One chronicler of the day says that gunpowder was used at Crécy. The English, he reports, had several small "bombards, which, with fire and noise like God's thunder, threw little iron balls *to frighten the horses*."

Cannon certainly came into use about that time; but the first ones were made by fastening bars of iron together with hoops; and the gunpowder was full of impurities and very weak. Not before a century later did cannon begin to be used to batter down the walls of castles and cities. It was longer still before firearms became the chief weapon of the infantry.

[1] The following table gives the Capetian kings for this period, with dates of accession. See § 539 for the earlier Capetians.

Louis X	1314
Philip V	1316
Charles IV	1322
Philip VI (of Valois)	1328
John	1350
Charles V (the Wise)	1364
Charles VI	1380
Charles VII	1422
Louis XI	1461
Charles VIII	1483
Louis XII	1498
Francis I	1515–1547

The first three were sons of Philip IV, and none of them left sons. The French nobles then chose Charles IV's cousin, Philip of Valois, for king. The mother of Edward III was a daughter of Philip the Fair. French law, however, did not recognize inheritance of the crown through females. And if it had, then, through other princesses, there were French nobles with better claims than Edward. Edward did not put forward this claim until after war had begun.

630. The Battle of Crécy. — The two great victories of this first period of the war were *Crécy and Poitiers.*

In 1346 Edward led an army through the north of France, ravaging crops, burning peasant villages, and turning the country into a blackened desert, to within sight of the walls of Paris, — in the usual fashion of warfare in those chivalrous days. Philip VI (less capable than most Capetians but a brave prince) gathered the feudal forces of France in an immense host to crush the invader. Edward III, who retreated toward the coast, was overtaken at Crécy by five times his numbers. He won a complete victory.

LOCALITIES OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

Edward III had drawn up his troops, less than sixteen thousand in all, on the slope of a hill, with a ditch in front to check the charge of horsemen. Behind the ditch stood the English bowmen, the main force of the army; and Edward even dismounted his few hundred men-at-arms to fight on foot among them and so strengthen their lines against a charge. This force, which was to meet the French onset, was placed under the command of the king's oldest son, the young Edward, known better as *the Black Prince* (so called from the color of his armor), while King Edward III, with a reserve, took stand higher up the hill.

The first charge of the French nobles seemed for a moment about to swallow up the little English army, and the young Edward sent to his father for reënforcement. But the king from his higher ground could

see that all was going well. "Is my son dead, or unhorsed, or wounded? Then go back, and bid them not send to me again so long as he lives. Let the boy win his spurs, for, if God so please, I will that the honor of the day be his."

The honor really belonged to the English yeomen, — the men of the six-foot long bow and heavy, yard-long shafts winged with gray-goose quills. The English free peasants were trained from childhood to draw "a mighty bow" — as English ballads called the national weapon — by "laying the body to it," when main strength, unskilled, could not have bent it (§ 532). The archer shot nearly a quarter of a mile (four hundred yards), and drove his arrows through ordinary iron armor; or, if the knight were clothed in "armor of proof" from Milan, he took deadly aim, at closer quarters, at openings for eyes and mouth, or at any exposed joint. Confident in their skill the bowmen coolly faced the ponderously charging mass, pouring in their arrows, says a French chronicler, "wherever they saw the thickest press," and letting few French knights reach the English lines.[1]

A sequel to the battle of Crécy was the siege and capture of *Calais*, the port that dominates the narrowest point on the Channel. It remained in English hands for two centuries, — an ever open door for an invasion of France.

631. Poitiers — Peace of Brétigny. — Ten years later the Black Prince, now in sole command, repeated the victory of Crécy at Poitiers with the same tactics. *The invincibility of the feudal horseman was gone.* King John the Good of France and countless French noblemen became prisoners.

The misery caused by the devastations of this war, together with the heavy ransoms for the captured lords, which ultimately had to come from the peasants, caused a terrible rising of the rural population. It is called the *Jacquerie*, from *Jacques Bonhomme*, which from this time on was the nickname for the lower classes. Bands amounting to a hundred thousand men roamed through the west and the north of France without plan or leader, inspired only with a blind passion for wholesale destruction. The nobles and the cities retaliated with every manner of cruelty. The movement brought no alleviation whatsoever to the peasants.

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[1] *O. S. M.*, No. 76, gives Froissart's description of Crécy.

By the *Peace of Brétigny*, 1360, Edward III retained the possessions of Aquitaine as a French vassal, but gave up all claims to everything north of the Loire except Calais.

632. The Second Period of the War. — In 1369 a dispute concerning Aquitaine found both parties eager to renew the war. The French king was Charles V (*the Wise*), and the victories all belonged to the French side. Place after place fell to them, until, at the end, in 1380, *England kept only two towns, — Bordeaux and Calais.* No formal peace was concluded. The parties simply discontinued fighting, and there were no war operations between the two countries from 1380 to 1415.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL EVENTS IN ENGLAND DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

633. The Black Death. — French success during the second period of the war had been due not alone to Charles the Wise, but also to altered conditions in England. In 1347, during the first period, England was visited by a terrible plague, called the *Black Death*, which for two years had been ravaging the continent. It is believed to have carried off at least one third of the population of Europe. A bright fact shines out from the universal misery, — the splendid devotion of the clergy and religious. On account of their self-sacrificing care of the sick and dying, they suffered most of all. In some countries two thirds of the parishes were left without clergy. In England the Black Death with its destruction of human life had several important consequences.

634. The Black Death hastened the cessation of serfdom. As the plague had carried off at least half of the farm laborers, the survivors thought that labor had risen in value and refused to do the same amount of work as before the plague, unless they were given additional wages. Parliament directly interposed, forbidding the lords to pay more and the laborers to demand more than formerly. Such prohibitions, though at times cruelly enforced, were very commonly evaded by both

the employers and employees. To keep his serfs from running away, the landlord made more and more favorable terms with them. The tendency was to allow the villein to pay money rent instead of giving his services, and then to hire him back for money wages. This movement, however, which would make the villeins free *yeomen*, was very slow. Half-freed serfs were often forced back into serfdom by legal trickery and downright violence. The farming population continued in a state of unrest, which at any moment might break out into serious disorders.

Effigy from the Tomb of the Black Prince

On the right side of his armor appears the English royal coat of arms, the leopards; on the left side the French lilies, to signify his and his father's claim to the crown of France (§ 628).

During the last years of his life King Edward III had lost his firm grip on the country. Old age, sickness, and family troubles made him unfit for vigorous government. Things grew still worse, when after his death the crown fell to his grandson, *Richard II*, a boy of eight years, since the Black Prince had died before his father.

635. The Peasant Rising of 1381. — While England was in this state of confusion and discontent, Parliament passed a heavy poll tax, bearing with unfair weight on the poor. This proved to be the spark which set the realm ablaze. With amazing suddenness, the peasantry rose in arms. From all sides they marched upon London, destroyed the deer parks and

fishponds of the gentry, slew the lawyers and court officials whom they chanced to meet, burned the court rolls which testified to the villeins' services, and after much destruction and plundering in the metropolis, murdered the Archbishop of Canterbury. The lawlessness, however, did not go so far as might have been expected. The boy king with rare courage rode out among the insurgents. *Wat Tyler*, the most dangerous of their leaders, drew his dagger against the king. He was instantly dispatched by Walworth, the Mayor of London. The king promised the peasants abolition of serfdom. For days a force of thirty clerks was kept busy writing out brief charters containing the king's promises. When the peasants had scattered to their villages, both houses of Parliament declared that Richard II's promise was void, because he could not give away the gentry's property — the services due to them — without their consent. Now that the danger was over, the ringleaders of the rising were punished without mercy.

This outcome of the unfortunate revolt considerably strengthened the opposition to a liberation of the serfs. But services unwillingly rendered cannot be long maintained. As the years passed, the conditions which made for the abolition of serfdom were too strong. After some time the same movement set in again, and *by 1450 villeinage had passed away from England forever.*

636. The Growth of Parliamentary Power. — The war made it necessary for the kings to ask Parliament for many grants of money. Parliament supplied them liberally. But it took advantage of their needs to have its own powers enlarged. *Under Edward III it became a fixed principle that "redress of grievances" must precede a "grant of supply."* In his last years the "Good Parliament" even impeached and removed his ministers.

Richard II, when old enough to take the government in his own hands, made himself heartily unpopular by his arbitrary measures. He tried to rule without Parliament. Once when

that body was assembled, he surrounded it with his troops, and thus compelled it to grant him a tax for life. Such acts, and the intrigues of his ambitious cousin Henry of Lancaster at last brought it about that Parliament deposed him and chose Henry of Lancaster king. *Richard II was the last of the Plantagenet kings.* (He died or was killed the following year.) **In Henry IV the House of Lancaster** ascended the English throne.

Henry IV frankly recognized his dependence on Parliament, which under him gained still more in influence. The lower house, the Commons, obtained the right to judge of the election of its own members. Money bills, too, could no longer be proposed by the king or the House of Lords, but had to be introduced first in the House of Commons (a practice which has been adopted for the legislatures of all English-speaking countries). The members of both houses were granted the privilege of free speech, and of freedom from arrest, unless Parliament itself ordered the arrest.

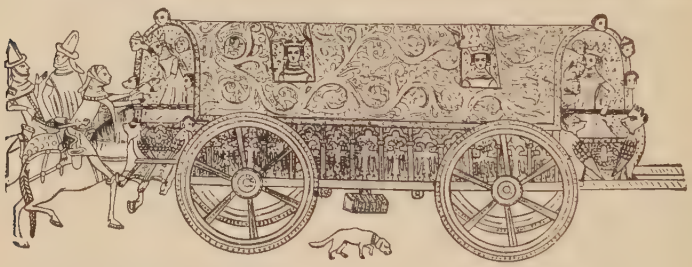
Under the next king, Henry V, the king was deprived of the power of changing the wording of bills passed by parliament; he was to accept or reject them as they were laid before him.

RELIGIOUS EVENTS DURING THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

637. John Wyclif. — It cannot be doubted that the unfortunate rising of the peasants was indirectly caused also by the teachings of religious innovators whose violent declamations threatened Catholic dogma and the public welfare alike. The father of this movement was *John Wyclif*, at one time a professor of considerable reputation at the University of Oxford.

At this period the popes, who resided at Avignon in France (§ 667) and were cut off from most of the sources of their revenue in Italy, insisted upon the payment of taxes by ecclesiastical dignitaries. Their demands, though justifiable in themselves, were opposed in England as well as in the rest of Europe.

Moreover, the pitiable dearth of priests caused by the Black Death inclined the bishops to lower the standard for those to be promoted to the priesthood. All this, together with his unaccountable aversion for the mendicant orders, became for John Wyclif the occasion of opposition to the members of all religious orders and the clergy in general. The Church, he maintained, must have no temporal goods at all. The secular authority must deprive the clergy of all their possessions. At any rate, no man who is in the state of mortal sin can be the



ENGLISH CARRIAGE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

After Jusserand, *English Wayfaring Life*. In the manuscript from which this picture is taken, the carriage is represented drawn by five horses tandem, driven by two postilions. Such carriages were a princely luxury, equaling in value a herd of from four hundred to sixteen hundred oxen. They were the express trains of those times.

owner of anything. Strong as were his teachings upon clerical poverty, however, they failed to impress him with the desirability of giving up the ecclesiastical property which he himself had obtained, — the rich vicarage of Lutterworth. Nor was he consistent enough to apply the mortal sin principle to the possessions of secular lords. He soon denied transubstantiation, a fact which made him a heretic even in the eyes of the less educated, though in his controversies he cloaked his denial in obscure language. To have ready at hand an authority to oppose to that of the Church he declared the Bible the sole source of faith. He falsified the existing translations of the Bible to suit his heresies. He was as untiring as he was violent in his

attacks upon the clergy, the bishops, and the pope. The blameless morality and abstemiousness of his private life contributed a great deal to increase his power over the common people. Prominent dissatisfied noblemen, above all the powerful John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (§ 642), took him under their protection. He died in 1383.

638. Lollardism. — To spread his errors far and wide Wyclif organized, about 1380, the *poor priests*, who were to travel up and down the country and preach his new doctrines. Very few of them were real priests. They and their adherents were called *Lollards* (from a word which means to sing in a low voice). They went further in their doctrines than their master, declaimed against the celibacy of the clergy, made the validity of the sacraments depend upon the worthiness of the minister, rejected ceremonies and pilgrimages (a famous shrine of the Blessed Virgin in Walsingham they nicknamed the Witch of Walsingham), and, of course, they denied the presence of Jesus Christ in the Blessed Sacrament. More consistent than Wyclif himself, many of them demanded that laymen, too, if in mortal sin, should be deprived of their offices and property. Their invectives against the rich sound very much like the talk of present-day socialists. Such harangues did not fail to make an impression at a time when the minds of the working classes were agitated by a keener sense of the real and imaginary wrongs they were suffering, and by the desire of an improvement which, they thought, was almost within their reach. How far Wyclif and his Lollards were *directly* responsible for the events next to be treated cannot now be ascertained.

Lollardism remained a danger for about fifty years. Ecclesiastical and secular authorities combined for its suppression, for which they resorted to the methods of the Inquisition. By the middle of the fifteenth century the heresy had ceased to have any noticeable influence. The formation of the Anglican Church by Henry VIII is entirely independent of Lollardism. The logical successors of Wyclif are to be sought not in England but in Bohemia (§ 672).

THE CLOSE OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

639. Third Period of the Hundred Years' War. — In 1415, after a generation of peace with France, Henry V renewed the Hundred Years' War. He had no clear excuse; but he was fired by ambition, and he saw an opportunity in the disorder in France under an insane king (Charles VI). He was brilliantly successful. At Agincourt he won a victory which recalled the days of Crécy and Poitiers (§ 630). The mighty Duke of Burgundy went over to his side. A peace treaty made him regent during the lifetime of Charles VI with the right of succession after the mad king's death. The son of Charles, "the Dauphin," as the heir of the throne was called, was simply passed over in the agreement. Both kings died within a short time of each other. Charles VII, "the Dauphin," held a feeble sway over the country south of the Loire. An English regent ruled in the north of France in the name of young Henry VI.

But when the English were besieging Orleans, the last stronghold of the Dauphin in the north, the tide began to turn. *Joan of Arc*, afterward called the "Maid of Orleans," saved the city, conducted the Dauphin to Reims, the ancient coronation city of the French kings, and had him crowned with the usual ceremonies. This act established him in the eyes of the nation as the lawful king, and revived the patriotism of the French. To offset the moral effect of this coronation, the English brought young Henry VI to Paris and had him crowned there by an English cardinal. But it was to no avail. Their hold on northern France was waning. By 1453 they had lost every inch of French soil except Calais.

640. Joan of Arc, a simple country girl of seventeen years, presented herself in the camp of Charles VII and declared that she had been ordered by "heavenly voices" to relieve Orleans and conduct the king to Reims to be crowned. For six weeks she was subjected to a severe examination by learned divines and magistrates. Finally Charles VII admitted her to his presence. To try her once more he mingled in disguise among his courtiers, but she identified him at once and revealed

to him a secret known only to himself. She was given charge of a small army. In full view of the besiegers she led a convoy of supplies into Orleans and then headed a number of sorties, so vigorous that within eight days the English withdrew. Through a country swarming with English and Burgundian forces and studded with hostile castles and fortresses she led Charles VII to Reims where he was crowned according to the traditional rite. Now that her mission was fulfilled, she insisted that she must return to her humble home and occupation. But she was prevailed upon to remain. The following year she fell into the hands of the Burgundians, who sold her to the English for 10,000 francs.

St. Joan of Arc
A statue in the Place Saint-Augustin, Paris.

Angered and mortified at their defeat by a young peasant woman, the English determined to represent her to the world as an ally of the devil. With flagrant injustice an ecclesiastical court tried her for witchcraft. King Charles VII, to whom she had given a kingdom, made not even the slightest attempt to save her. She was condemned as a sorceress and heretic and burned at the stake in the city of Rouen. She died with the heroism of a martyr, protesting her innocence and invoking the name of Jesus until she expired. Many of the English spectators exclaimed: "We are lost; we have murdered a saint." Twenty years later, after the French had retaken Rouen, the process was reëxamined by order of the Pope, and in the same city the decree of her rehabilitation was published with great solemnity and rejoicing. In 1909 she was beatified by Pope Pius X, and Benedict XV in 1919 concluded the process of her canonization.

Saint Joan of Arc was one of the most remarkable personages of history. This peasant girl of little more than high-school age was an accomplished

army leader and sat in the war councils of France. When only nineteen she testified to the supernatural character of her mission by a martyr's death and became the glory and pride of her nation and of the entire Christian world. Her canonization called forth expressions of enthusiasm, not only among the patriots of Catholic France, but even among the descendants, Catholic and non-Catholic, of the English against whom she fought and who brought her to death.

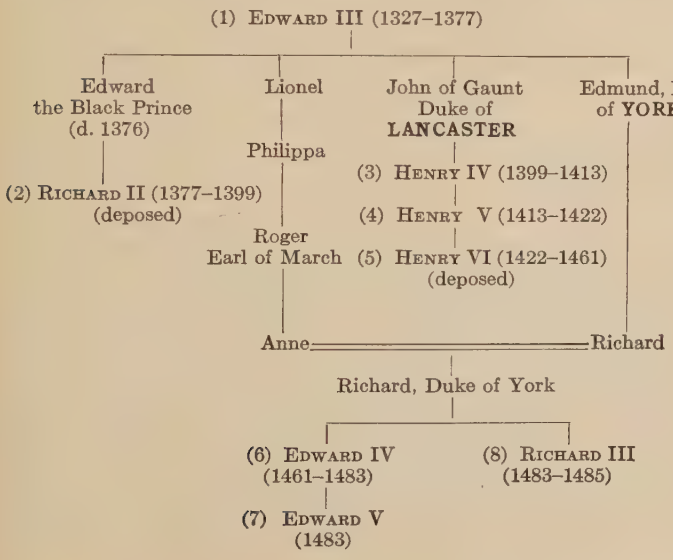
641. France after the Hundred Years' War. — After suffering vast destruction of life and property, after terrible devastations caused by the foe and by civil war (there were more troubles in France during this time than the frightful Jacquerie (§ 631), France came out victorious, with her boundaries reaching everywhere to the coast of the Atlantic, with a new patriotism binding her people together, and with her kings more absolute than ever. Charles VII, in spite of his detestable desertion of St. Joan of Arc, proved to be a great king. He restored order with a firm hand. Bands of "free lances" (mercenary soldiers) had been living on the country after being dismissed by the warring parties. They had earned the name of "flayers," from their method of torture to discover valuables. These hordes were now driven away. France is blessed with a fertile soil and other natural resources, and if well governed, can easily return from the effects of dire calamities to prosperity and affluence.

The king kept part of the soldiers under arms after the war. A train of artillery enabled him to batter the castles of rebellious noblemen about their ears. He also continued to raise taxes by his own authority, which he had done during the war of necessity. So the *Estates General* (§ 545) lost all chance to become a real power and to form a check upon the unlimited power of the monarch. Under Louis XI (1461–1483) the feudal nobles made a last desperate but futile attempt to recover their influence. Feudalism ceased to be a political danger. And since the Estates General, if summoned at all, were of no consequence, the King of France was more nearly absolute than any other ruler in Europe.

The kings of France also acquired, gradually and in the course of several centuries, various fiefs which were parts of the Kingdom of Burgundy. The connection with the Empire, to which this kingdom belonged, had become merely nominal, and the emperors were not powerful enough to resist the encroachments of the French. (See § 649 ff.) This extended the boundaries of France to the Alps.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES, 1455–1485

642. Rival Claims to the Throne. — In 1422 Henry VI became king, while less than a year old. His long minority gave time for factions to grow among the nobles. When he was old enough to assume the government, he proved too weak and gentle to restore order. The misrule of the great lords caused wide discontent, especially among the rising towns, whose industries called for settled government. Encouraged by this discontent, the Duke of York came forward to claim the crown.



The table on the previous page shows the succession of English sovereigns after Edward III, and will at the same time make clear the claims which each family had to the throne. This table begins where the table in § 536 left off.

The table shows that without doubt Edward the Black Prince and his son had the first claim to the throne. Then followed in order Lionel, John, Edmund. Henry IV, who dislodged Richard II, had to forge a false pedigree to establish a better right than that of Richard II. In the course of time the claim of Lionel went to the Duke of York, by the marriage of Richard with Lionel's great-granddaughter. This claim was a better one than that of the Lancaster kings. But it must not be forgotten that the crown of England was chiefly won by election, and that, after all, the Lancastrian king, Henry VI, was in possession of the royal throne. Thus ensued a civil war which lasted thirty years.

643. The Wars of the Roses, so called because the Lancastrians had as their coat-of-arms a *red rose*, and the Yorkists a *white rose*, was one of the bloodiest in English history. A victory, especially on the side of the Yorkists, was followed by a regular carnage, not only on the battlefield, but also in the prisons and on the scaffold. The cities generally were for the Yorkists, and the feudal aristocracy for Lancaster. Poor gentle Henry VI was deposed, kept in the Tower for years, and after another abortive attempt to regain the crown, done away with in a mysterious manner. *Edward IV* ascended the throne, a selfish and rather careless despot. His young son *Edward V* was never crowned. His uncle Richard, it is believed, murdered him to succeed him as *Richard III.* After three years of misrule this atrocious tyrant fell in battle against **Henry Tudor,** a distant relative of the Lancastrians, who married the sister of young Edward V. With Henry VII began the royal line of the Tudors, which was to furnish the English rulers until 1603.

644. RESULTS OF THE WARS OF THE ROSES. — The losses in the long civil war had fallen mainly on the feudal classes.

The old nobility was almost swept away in battle or by the headsman's ax. The new kings created new nobles (but kept them dependent on the crown), and *set to work skillfully to crush the scant remains of feudal independence.* For instance, a law of Henry VII wisely forbade nobles to maintain armed bands of retainers, whose presence always had been a source of disorder and a threat to peace.

A few of the surviving *old* nobles at first disregarded this law. On a visit to one of these, — the great Earl of Oxford, — the king found an array of such armed retainers drawn up to salute him. Oxford had been one of Henry's earliest supporters for the throne; but now Henry frowned darkly: "I thank you for your good hospitality, Sir Earl; but I cannot have my laws broken in my sight." And Oxford was called before the king's court and ruined by a fine of £15,000, — some half million dollars in the values of to-day.

The first evident result of this crushing of feudalism was a *general loss of liberty.* Without great nobles for leaders, the towns and the country gentry were not yet strong enough to challenge the royal power. *So Parliament lost authority.* During the wars, it had not been possible to hold true parliaments; and when war was over, the kings had been so enriched by confiscations of the property of opposing nobles that they did not need new taxes in ordinary times, and so could get along without calling parliaments.

Another new device helped the monarch to maintain this superiority. During these wars the king had had to depend on free-will gifts (*benevolences*) from men of wealth in his party. After the war, Edward IV continued to ask benevolences from leading men as he met them in traveling through the kingdom. Richard III had tried to secure popular favor by promising to surrender this evil custom; but he soon practiced it in a more extortionate form than ever. Henry VII reduced it to a system of regular supply. He asked, no longer merely in person, *but by letter.* His minister, Morton, sent out demands to rich men over all England. To some he said that their luxurious manner of living showed that they were easily able to supply their king; to others, that their economy of life proved that they must have saved wherewith to aid

their sovereign's necessities. Thus every man of consequence in the realm found himself impaled, it was said, on one prong or the other of "Morton's Fork." [1]

645. Thus England entered the sixteenth century under the Tudor kings with a "new monarchy." Henry VII and his son Henry VIII were more nearly absolute than any preceding English kings. Still they were shrewd enough to cloak their power under the old constitutional *forms*, and so did not challenge popular opposition. They called Parliament rarely, — and only to use it as a tool. But these occasional meetings, and the way in which the kings *seemed* to rule through Parliament, *saved the forms of constitutional government.* This was a mighty service. At a later time, life was again breathed into those forms. Then it became plain that, in crushing the feudal forces, the new monarchy had paved the way for a parliamentary government more complete and valuable than men had dreamed of in earlier times.

THE ENGLISH POWER IN IRELAND

646. English Ascendency. — In 1171 Henry II went to Ireland and took possession of it as "Lord of Ireland" (§ 523). His dominion consisted principally of the "English Pale," a district varying in extent, with Dublin as its center and capital. The English colonists lived under English law, which did not protect the Irish in any way. Though many of the English noblemen lived on good terms with the natives, the latter on the whole were treated with brutal indignity. John Lackland (§ 527), who was sent over by his father Henry II when a young man, offended even the earlier English colonists by his utter neglect. He came a second time as king, and accomplished some good for the English settlers by regulating the courts of justice. The natives, *the mere Irish*, or *Irish enemies*, were no

[1] Perhaps the most important point of this story is that it reminds us of the recent introduction of forks (two-pronged instruments) at the table. They had come into use in Italy a little earlier.

better off for his coming. Nor did a similar visit of Richard II (§ 636) produce any different results.

On one occasion the Irish sent a " remonstrance " to Pope John XXII in which they describe their sufferings. Any Englishman, they say, may prosecute an Irishman for an injury, but no Irishman can prosecute an Englishman. If an Englishman kills an Irishman, there is no penalty for the murderer. Moreover, " Irishmen are excluded from monastic institutions governed by Englishmen."

647. Edward Bruce. — When Robert Bruce, a scion of the Celtic family of the Bruces, rose successfully in Scotland against the English (§ 530), a large Irish party invited his brother *Edward* to come to Ireland and assume the royal dignity. There was no lack of bravery in Edward Bruce's Scotch and Irish warriors. But in spite of all successes, dissensions among the chiefs brought about the complete failure of the projects. For three years this war wrought great confusion, devastation, and misery among the native population. But it also shook the English government of Ireland to its very foundations.

" Both the Irish and the English lords became more independent and consequently more tyrannical. So general, so needless, and well-nigh so insane had been the destruction of property, that vast numbers of people lost everything and sank into helpless poverty."

648. Irish Gains. — One of the greatest mistakes, if not the greatest, made by the English was the contempt in which they held the descendants of their own first settlers. All offices of the Pale were given to *English by birth.* Those Englishmen who were born in Ireland were looked down upon as *degenerate English.* These *English by blood* mixed more and more with the natives, intermarried with them, and adopted not only their language but even their dress and customs. The " Statute of Kilkenny " threatened this practice with the severest penalties, but to no purpose. The fusion of the races went on in spite of the law. " As generations rolled by, the descendants of English immigrants became quite incorporated with the

natives and indistinguishable from them in everything except their family names. This was especially the case with the great and powerful family of the *Fitzgeralds*." Many of these Anglo-Irish are said to have become more Irish than the Irish themselves.

The Black Rent. — During the Hundred Years' War and the Wars of the Roses the hold of England upon Ireland grew weaker year by year. The colonists felt themselves so much at the mercy of the natives that they concluded agreements with certain Irish clans to pay a fixed yearly sum for protection against further molestations. This was the *Black Rent.* It became very common and formed a regular source of revenue for many Irish chiefs.

The greatest Irish hero of this period was *Art MacMurrough Kavanagh*, a descendant of the archtraitor Dermot MacMurrough (§ 523). When eighteen years old he was chosen provincial king of Leinster, and immediately began his career as defender of the province. By a better knowledge of the country, and by bravery and superior generalship, he kept even the mighty host of Richard II at bay. For nearly half a century he preserved his independence just beside the Pale, in spite of every effort to bring him to submission. He died in 1417, — the most renowned Irish chief since Brian Boru (§ 451, 2).

CHAPTER XLIV

THE GERMAN LANDS AFTER THE CRUSADES

EMPIRE AND EMPERORS

649. The Interregnum, 1255–1273. — Toward the end of the Hohenstaufen period seven of the German princes had arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of choosing the King of the Romans. After the death of Conrad IV (§ 567) these seven " electors " could not unite on one candidate. One faction elected Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III of England (§ 529). Richard visited his kingdom three times without exerting much influence. The other faction decided for Alphonso of Castile, who never saw Germany. The period 1254–1273, during which these two foreigners were supposed to rule, while in reality nobody ruled, is called *interregnum* (time between reigns). It was the heyday of club-law, when robber knights in ever-increasing number infested the country. To combat the evils of the period the city leagues grew into power (§ 612) and, as far as their influence reached, safeguarded the roads for traveling merchants.

650. Rudolph of Hapsburg (1273–1291) was a man of sterling character, and likely to bring some order out of the chaos. His moderate possessions, southern Alsace and some territory in the Alps, made him acceptable to the great princes who did not want too powerful a king. His election was hailed with unbounded joy by the people. Rudolph was sincerely religious. From the first he had the active support of the popes. He showed little inclination to interfere in Italian affairs, but gave his undivided energy to the welfare of Germany itself. The robbers soon found out what kind of man the new king was. Along the Rhine alone he demolished a hundred and fifty of their castles, and on one memorable occasion hanged twenty robber knights at a single execution.

Rudolph was forced to draw the sword also for the integrity of the realm. King Ottokar of Bohemia (§ 454) had brought that country to a high degree of prosperity. But he sought to withdraw his possessions from the overlordship of the Empire and refused to give up other fiefs which he had occupied with very questionable right. With greatly inferior numbers Rudolph defeated him. Ottokar fell in the battle. Rudolph bestowed Bohemia and Moravia upon Ottokar's infant son. Most of the other fiefs, among them the dukedom of *Austria* (founded as the *East Mark* by Otto I, § 551), he granted to his own son Albrecht. Thus the family of the Hapsburgs was established in the land on the Danube, *which was destined to grow into the Austrian Monarchy under Rudolph's descendants.*

Rudolph's rule proved an immense blessing for Germany. But his actual influence did not extend very far into the north. The short reigns of the contemporary popes — there were eight during his own reign — must be assigned as one of the reasons that prevented his imperial coronation.

651. For fifty years after Rudolph's death the crown passed from one family to another. *Henry VII*, of the House of Luxemburg, again went to Rome and was crowned Emperor, only to die in Italy after a short while. His successor, *King Louis*, Duke of Bavaria, was for sixteen years at war with a rival, and lived in unending opposition to the popes, who then resided at Avignon (§ 666). He led an immoral life and broke the most solemn pledges. His reign is remarkable only because of the favor he bestowed upon the free cities.

Here is the place to sum up the *chief causes of the decline of Germany.* They are: the disastrous Italian policy of many of the emperors; the complete electiveness of the royal office; the large number of short reigns; and the continuous change of the ruling houses. (§ 556, note.) To these causes will be added in the coming centuries the aggressiveness of strong foreign powers, chiefly France and the Turks, and the internal disunion fostered enormously by the Reformation.

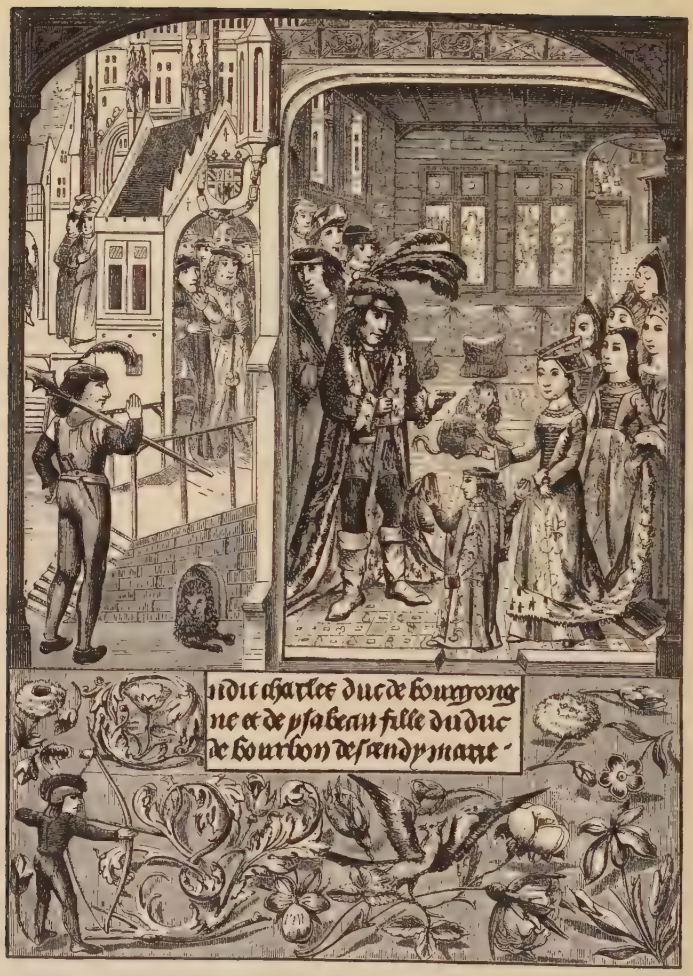
GERMANY
AFTER 1550
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
REFERENCE
Boundary of Empire
Hapsburg Territories
Ecclesiastical Territories
Imperial Cities
NORTH SEA
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND
Holland
Amsterdam
Hague
Leyden
Delft
Rotterdam
Schouwen
Duiveland
Seeland
Middleburg
Flushing
Stuys
Ostend
Bruges
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais (Eng.)
Ingelmunster
Ghent
Dendermonde
Flanders
Ypres
St. Omer
Lille
Guinegate
Artois
Orchies
Tournay
Mons
Brussels
Alost
Mechlin
Brabant
Antwerp
Turnhout
Bergen op Zoom
Breda
Geertruidenberg
Grave
Mook
Cleve
Duchy of Cleve
Arnhem
Utrecht
Naarden
Zutphen
Deventer
Zwolle
Kampen
Enkhuizen
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Friesland
Leeuwarden
Groningen
Franeker
Harlingen
East Friesland
Emden
Heiligerlee
Oldenburg
County Oldenburg
Keovorden
Lingen
Diepholz
County Bentheim
Bishopric of Münster
Bishopric Osnabruck
County Tecklenburg
Ravensberg
Münster
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
County Mark
Limburg
Duchy of Westphalia
Düsseldorf
Duchy of Berg
Cologne
Bonn
Arch. of Cologne
Arch. of Trevs
Juliers
Duchy of Juliers
Aix-la-Chapelle
Duchy of Limburg
Liege
Maastricht
Venlo
Cy. Hourn
Bishopric of Liege
Namur
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Longwy
Vianden
Salm
Coblenz
Nassau
Frankfort
Mainz
Ebernburg
Treves
Elector
Landstuhl
Bishopric
Zweibrücken
Weissenburg
Zabern
Hagenau
Strasburg
Baden
Wurtemberg
Hohenberg
Rottweil
Freiburg
Breisgau
Schaffhausen
Constanz
Zurich
Kappel
Swiss Confederation
Lucerne
Glarus
Bern
Freiburg
Lake Neuchatel
Basel
Bishopric of Basel
Upper Alsatia
Mülhausen
Colmar
Bishopric of Metz
Metz
Verdun
Bishopric of Bar
Duchy of Lorraine
Toul
Joinville
Langres
Vesoul
Dôle
Besancon
County of Burgundy
Duchy of Burgundy
Dijon
County Charolles
Paris
Chalons
Soissons
Noyon
St. Quentin
Amiens
Cambray
Cateau Cambresis
Valenciennes
Arras
Namur
Gembloux
Löwen
St. Trond
Mechlin
Alost
Brussels
Tournay
Mons
Lille
Orchies
Guinegate
Ypres
Calais (Eng.)
Dunkirk
Ostend
Bruges
Axel
Halst
Turnhout
Bergen op Zoom
Breda
Geertruidenberg
Grave
Mook
Cleve
Arnhem
Utrecht
Naarden
Zutphen
Deventer
Zwolle
Kampen
Enkhuizen
Alkmaar
Haarlem
Leyden
Delft
Hague
Rotterdam
Brielle
Dortrecht
Nymegen
Amsterdam
Franeker
Harlingen
Leeuwarden
Groningen
Emden
Heiligerlee
Oldenburg
Keovorden
Lingen
Diepholz
Bishopric Osnabruck
Bishopric Minden
County Tecklenburg
Ravensberg
Paderborn
Bishopric Paderborn
Duchy of Westphalia
Wesel
Dortmund
Soest
Limburg
Düsseldorf
Bonn
Coblenz
Frankfort
Mainz
Darmstadt
Worms
Heidelberg
Spires
Landau
Zweibrücken
Weissenburg
Zabern
Hagenau
Baden
Strasburg
Colmar
Mülhausen
Basel
Kappel
Zurich
Baden
Lucerne
Glarus
Bern
Freiburg
Lake Neuchatel
Langres
Vesoul
Dijon
Dôle
Besancon
Toul
Verdun
Bouillon
Luxemburg
Vianden
Salm
Moselle R.
Rhine R.
Maas R.
Saône R.
Doubs R.
Aar R.
Marg. R.
Oise R.
Marne R.
Lahn R.
Ems R.
Lippe R.
Ruhr R.
Longitude East from
L.L. POATES, ENGR., N.Y.

12
14
16
52
50
48
Duchy of Mecklenburg
Bishopric
Schwerin
Lauenburg
Sax
Lauenburg
Duchy of
Brunswick
Pomerania
Stettin
Uckermark
Stendal
Priegnitz
County
Ruppin
Margraviate of
Brandenburg
Neumark
Oder R.
Netze R.
KINGDOM
OF
POLAND
Obornik
Posen
Wartha R.
Altmark
Elbe R.
Berlin
Köln
Spree R.
Storkow
Brandenburg
Küstrin
Frankfort
Schwiebus
Celle
Sievershausen
Brunswick
Arch. of
Magdeburg
Mittlemark
Margr.
Lower Lusatia
Magdeburg
Halberstadt
Halberstadt
Goslar
Zerbst
Wittenberg
Lübben
Guben
Frauenstadt
Glogau
Anhalt
Dessau
Kottbus
Duchy of
Sagan
Mansfeld
Mansfeld
Eisleben
Halle
Torgau
Mühlberg
Merseburg
Leipzig
Frankenhausen
Mülhausen
Naumburg
Merseburg
Elbe R.
Upper Lusatia
Prin. of
Liegnitz
Duchy of
Silesia
Oder R.
Prin. of
Brieg
Electorate of Saxony
Lobau
Görlitz
Zittau
Dresden
Chemnitz
Zwickau
Zeitz
Gotha
Erfurt
Weimar
Jena
Duchy of
Mainz
Saale R.
Cy.
Reuss
Plauen
Adorf
Eger R.
Elbe R.
County
of
Glatz
Glatz
Saxony
KINGDOM
OF
BOHEMIA
Prague
Bayreuth
Kulmbach
Eger
Bayreuth
Bishopric of Bamberg
Bamberg
Upper
Palatinate
Peraun
Pilsen
Moldau R.
Sazawa R.
Tabor
Margraviate
of
Moravia
Brünn
March R.
Nuremburg
Altdorf
Rothenburg
Schwabach
Bayreuth
Naab R.
Ratisbon
Bishopric
Eichstadt
Budweis
Thaya R.
Bishopric
of
Passau
Donauworth
Ingolstadt
Neuburg
Landau
Arch. of
Duchy of
Bavaria
Altdorf
Passau
Danube R.
Augsburg
Burgau
Landshut
Linz
Mölk
Pressburg
Vienna
Austria
Enns R.
Steyer
Munich
Lech R.
Isar R.
Inn R.
Salzach R.
Salzburg
Berechtesgaden
Neustadt
Kempten
Ehrenberger
Pass
Hall
Innsbruck
Pinzgau R.
Arch. of
Salzburg
Gastein
Enns R.
Leoben
Bruck
Duchy of Styria
Graz
Raab R.
Mur R.
(To Salzburg)
(To Bamberg)
County of Tyrol
Brenner
Duchy
of
Carinthia
Klagenfurt
Radkersburg
Tyrol
Brixen
(Bishopric)
(To Görz)
Etsch R.
VENICE
Bleiburg
KINGDOM OF HUNGARY

652. Charles IV (1347–1378), grandson of Henry VII, was a good emperor. He had received his education in Paris, spoke Bohemian, German, French, and Latin, and was a great promoter of learning and art. In his residence, Prague, he established a university, the first in Germany, which was soon frequented by thousands of students. With the power of his rich private dominions he might have consolidated Germany or at least greatly retarded its disintegration. The cities and the lower nobility would have been his mighty allies. But his was too conservative a nature. On the whole, however, his rule was a happy one. He formally sanctioned the privileges of the seven electors. His *Golden Bull* defined exactly how the "College of Electors" should make elections, and *fixed its members* as the *three archbishops* of *Mainz, Cologne,* and *Treves,* the *King of Bohemia,* the *Duke of Saxony,* the *Margrave of Brandenburg* (§ 550), and the *Count Palatine by the Rhine.* Thus he forestalled arbitrariness in the royal elections at least to some degree.

The apple of his eye was his own *kingdom of Bohemia.* "Under the long reign of this wise and learned king," says a Bohemian writer, "the Bohemians themselves became wise and learned. The surrounding nations now sent their sons to the new university. Bohemians obtained the most important positions in the Empire. Several foreign bishoprics received Bohemian bishops. The Bohemians were the most learned, the dominant nation in Europe. It was thought a great honor to be a Bohemian. The neighboring princes bought or built houses in Prague to live among the Bohemians."

Another prominent ruler of the Luxemburg family was *Sigismund* (1410–1437) the son of Charles IV. In addition to his private possession of Bohemia he acquired by marriage the kingdom of Hungary. His greatest merit was the prominent part he played in the happy termination of the Great Western Schism (§ 673). This will be seen later. In the Empire he fulfilled the expectations entertained of him much less than Charles IV.



Emperor Maximilian I, His Wife Mary of Burgundy, and Their Son Philip

(See § 656.) From a fifteenth-century manuscript.

653. From 1437 onward all the emperors were elected from the House of Hapsburg, the descendants of Rudolph. The dignity did not, however, simply become hereditary. The election always remained a reality. More than once the imperial crown was on the point of slipping away and nearly every election resulted in a further limitation of the royal power. One more reign during the present period is important, that of *Maximilian I* (1493–1519). He found it impossible to go to Rome for his coronation, and the Pope permitted him to style himself *Emperor Elect*. The only German ruler that was crowned Emperor after him was Charles V. The others obtained the same privilege as Maximilian. The title of "Roman King" (§ 554) was now reserved to those few who were elected during an emperor's lifetime to succeed him after his death.

Maximilian I, called "the last of the knights," was one of the most romantic figures of the closing Middle Ages. Most of his noble efforts to bring Germany abreast of England and France were frustrated by the jealousies of the princes and partly by his own dreamy nature.

Until 1806 Germany was simply called "The Empire," and its ruler "The Emperor," because there was but one emperor in the Christian world. Historians, however, occasionally use the appellation of "German Empire" and "German Emperor" with reference to those centuries. *There was no Emperor of Austria then.* But the ruler of the dominions of the House of Hapsburg, to which belonged the Archdukedom of Austria, was the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

654. Institutions of the Empire. — *The Diet.* — During this period the German "national assembly," called the Diet, took form. It consisted of three houses, the Electors, the Princes, and the Representatives of the "Free and Imperial Cities." To be binding a resolution had to be passed by at least two houses and signed by the emperor. The execution of laws thus adopted was always difficult for the emperor.

The honest endeavors of Maximilian I had scored at least some success. Under him private feuds were completely forbidden, a *Supreme Tribunal* was instituted to settle disputes, and for the purpose of a better enforcement of the laws and of carrying out the verdicts of the

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION
1291-1500
SCALE OF MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60
The Original Three "Forest Cantons," 1291
The Five Cantons added, 1353-1481
(These Eight are known as the "Old Cantons")
The Five Cantons added, 1481-1513, after Conflict with Burgundy
The Associated Districts
Common Districts
Danube
R. Rhine
Moselle
Ensisheim
Freiburg
Mühlhausen
Schaffhausen 1501
Ravensburg
Lake Constance
Constance
THURGAU
Lindau
Bregenz
Dornach
Basel 1501
Winterthur
Kyburg
Zürich 1351
Toggenburg
St. Gall
Appenzell 1513
Frastenz
R. Doubs
Besancon
FRANCHE COMTÉ
BASEL
Solothurn 1481
Biel
Habsburg
L. Zürich
Hergen
Zug 1352
Wildhaus
Einsiedeln
Sempach
Kussnacht
Morgarten
Nafels
Luzern 1332
Schwyz
Sargans
Neuenburg
Bern 1353
Sarnen
Gersau
L. Luzern
Glarus 1352
Prattingau
LEAGUE OF 10 JURISDICTIONS
Grauson
L. Neuchâtel
Fribourg 1431
Thun
UNTERWALDEN
Altdorf
Engelberg
Chur
Davos
TYROL
Münster Thal
R. Rhine
Dissentis
URI
Ursoren
St. Gothard Pass
GRISONS
Splugen Pass
R. Ticino
R. Inn
LEAGUE OF GOD'S HOUSE
Bormio
VAUD
Lausanne
Lake Geneva
Chillon
TO BERN
Sitten
R. Rhone
Visp
VALAIS
Chiavena
Locarno 1512
Bellinzona 1390
R. Adda
Sondrio
Valteline 1512
R. Adige
Geneva
Martigny
SAVOY
Lake Maggiore
Lake Lugano
Lake Como
MILAN
VENETIA

tribunal, Germany was divided into ten "*circles.*" It took some time before both institutions were in working order and able to do a limited amount of good.

SWITZERLAND, BURGUNDY

We have to register two events in the history of the Hapsburg dominions, one a loss, small but significant, the other a great and important gain.

655. Switzerland. — In the mountains around Lake Lucerne there dwelt a sturdy race given to the pursuit of a simple agricultural and pastoral life. They had been under the sway of the Hapsburg dynasty long before King Rudolph. About 1300 they claimed independence, and several non-Hapsburg kings granted them the right to rule themselves and be directly under the emperor. The Hapsburg dukes refused to recognize the lawfulness of this grant. Duke Leopold advanced with a strong army of knights to enforce what he thought was his right. The brilliant army was completely routed by the peasants. The battle of Morgarten, November 15, 1315, was the birthday of Swiss liberty. In several other battles,[1] assisted always by the nature of their rugged country, the brave mountaineers maintained their freedom, and by and by increased the number of the little "cantons" from the original three "Forest Cantons" to eight and more. A rather loose tie connected the cantons, each of which ruled itself independently. In 1481, when the whole alliance was on the point of breaking up, it was saved by the sudden appearance of a famous hermit, Blessed Nicholas of Flue, who within one hour settled all the difficulties. Within the Empire the Swiss Alliance ranked with the princes. It remained politically a German country until the Peace of Westphalia, 1648.

The Swiss victories, won by peasant infantry over the feudal array of armored knights, together with the battles of Legnano, Crécy, and Poitiers (§§ 559, 630, 631), mark the beginning of a new mode of war-

[1] The myth of *William Tell* belongs to the period of Morgarten. It is a good subject for special reports.

fare. The time of the mailed horseman was gone. The developments in the use of gunpowder completely sealed his fate.

The Swiss acquired fame as redoubtable warriors, whose assistance, either as allies or mercenaries, was sought by foreign powers. Many a throne was faithfully guarded by these free sons of the mountains. The last remnant of this custom is the little Swiss "army" in the Vatican.

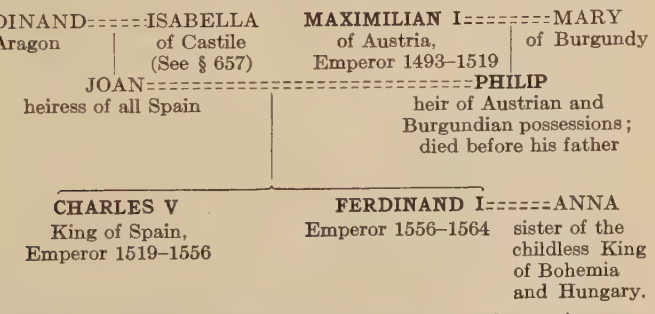
656. How the Hapsburg Power Grew by Marriages. — (1) *The Hapsburgs acquire the Burgundian inheritance.* One of the kingdoms into which the realm of Charlemagne was finally divided was Burgundy, between the Rhone River and the Alps. This kingdom eventually became annexed to Germany (§ 556), but much of it was lost to France in the course of several centuries. To the northwest of the kingdom, there was the *Dukedom* of Burgundy, which had always been a French fief. There was also a *County* of Burgundy, which as part of the kingdom still owed allegiance to Germany. It was commonly called *Franche Comté.* (See the map after page 418.) Both the duchy and the county were finally united. The mighty Dukes of Burgundy found opportunities to incorporate other large provinces, in particular THE NETHERLANDS,[1] that is, the greater part of present Holland and Belgium with some districts now belonging to France. Most of these acquisitions were German fiefs. Duke Charles the Bold (1467–1477) fell in an attempt to conquer the Duchy of Lorraine, which he intended to serve as a link between the northern and the southern part of his

[1] *The Netherlands* was one of the most flourishing countries in Europe. The several duchies and counties comprised under this name contained very rich and populous cities, where merchants from Italy exchanged wares with those of the Hansa towns. It might even be said that they were rather workshops than trading rooms. "Nothing," says one historian, "reached their shores but received a more perfect finish; what was coarse and almost worthless became transmuted into something beautiful and good." Early in the crusading age the cities had won or bought their liberties. Each province had its diet, where sat the nobles and the representatives of the cities. Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, had granted them *The Great Privilege* (1478) which further increased their influence upon the policies of their sovereign.

dominions. Charles the Bold's daughter Mary, "the richest heiress in Europe," married Maximilian of Austria (§ 653), the later Emperor, and thereby brought her vast inheritance to the House of Hapsburg. The kings of France remonstrated. They indeed occupied the Duchy of Burgundy, but the whole rest of the inheritance went to the Hapsburgs. Next to the winning of the Archduchy of Austria (§ 650), the marriage of Mary of Burgundy with Maximilian I was a most momentous step in the development of the Hapsburg power.

(2) *The Hapsburgs acquire Spain by marriage.* Philip, son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, married Joan, the daughter and heiress of the two Spanish monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella (§ 657), a marriage which brought to the Hapsburg family the crown of Spain with all the transatlantic dependencies of that kingdom in Central and South America (§ 683). Philip, who died before his father Maximilian, had two sons, Charles and Ferdinand. Charles became King of Spain by inheritance, and Emperor Charles V by election of the German electors.[1]

(3) *The acquisition of Bohemia and Hungary by marriage* belongs to a later period, but may be mentioned here for the sake of completeness. Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V, received the old possessions of the House of Hapsburg, *i.e.*, the Archdukedom of Austria with the other lands in the south of Germany. He was eventually elected Emperor Ferdinand I. By marriage with the heiress of Bohemia and


[1]FERDINAND of Aragon
ISABELLA of Castile (See § 657)
MAXIMILIAN I of Austria, Emperor 1493–1519
MARY of Burgundy
JOAN heiress of all Spain
PHILIP heir of Austrian and Burgundian possessions; died before his father
CHARLES V King of Spain, Emperor 1519–1556
FERDINAND I Emperor 1556–1564
ANNA sister of the childless King of Bohemia and Hungary.

The symbol ==== means "married." The names of Hapsburg princes are printed in heavy capitals.

Hungary he united these lands with his hereditary possessions, and thereby founded the power of his house in central Europe.

Thus the House of Hapsburg rose to the zenith of its might by the peaceful means of three marriages, all of which took place within the short space of seventy years.

CHAPTER XLV

THE CHRISTIAN COUNTRIES TO THE SOUTH, EAST, AND NORTH

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MOHAMMEDANISM

657. The Spanish Peninsula. — The Mohammedan invasion of 711 A.D. (§ 422) separated the course of development in Spain from that of the rest of Europe. For a long time "Africa began at the Pyrenees."

The wave of Moorish invasion, however, had left unconquered a few resolute Christian chiefs in the remote fastnesses of the northwestern mountains, and Charlemagne recovered part, also, of the northeast (§ 433). In these districts, *Asturia* and the *Spanish March*, several little Christian principalities began the long task of winning back their land, crag by crag and stream by stream. *This they accomplished in eight hundred years of war*, — a war at once patriotic and religious, Spaniard against African, and Christian against infidel. *The long struggle left the Spanish race proud, brave, warlike, intensely patriotic, and enthusiastically devoted to the Church.*

During the eight centuries of conflict, the Christian states spread gradually to the south and east, — waxing, fusing, splitting up into new states, uniting in kaleidoscopic combinations by marriage and war, — until, before 1400, they had formed the three countries, *Portugal*, *Aragon*, and *Castile*. Portugal remained independent. In consequence of the marriage between Isabella, heiress of Castile, with Ferdinand II, "the Catholic," heir of Aragon (1469), the other two countries were eventually united and in later times were known as the *Kingdom of Spain*. In 1492 this combined power captured Granada, the last Moorish stronghold on the peninsula, and Spain at home achieved national

union. In 1505 Ferdinand added the Kingdom of Naples to the Spanish domain.

Portugal as well as Spain entered upon a period of discovery and colonization which made both mighty European states (§ 683). But in European politics Spain by far outdid her smaller neighbor.

The feudal lords of the many Spanish kingdoms had been the most uncontrollable in Europe. In each petty state they elected their king, and took the oath to obey him in forms like this: "We, who are each of us as good as thou, and who together are far more powerful than thou, swear to obey thee if thou dost obey our laws, and if not, not."

The towns of Spain, too, had possessed charters of liberties of the most extreme character, and in various kingdoms they had sent representatives to the assembly of estates, or the "Cortes," for more than a century before a like practice began in England. But Ferdinand of Aragon began to abridge all these privileges, and in the next two reigns *the process was carried so far that Spain became one of the most nearly absolute monarchies in Europe.*

658. The Balkan Peninsula. — While the Mohammedan Moors were losing Spain, the barbarous Turks (§ 599) were gaining southeastern Europe. They established themselves on the European side of the Dardanelles for the first time in 1346. In 1361 they conquered Adrianople and made it their capital. A crusade under Sigismund, then king of Hungary, was a failure (§ 652). The Serbians and Bulgarians yielded more and more. The Greek Empire shrank to a narrow fringe along the coast in the immediate neighborhood of Constantinople. At Varna (1444) King Wladislaw III of Hungary and Poland, and Cardinal Cesarini, the papal legate, found a noble death on the battlefield.

A chief cause of these successes was the "Tribute of Children" imposed on the conquered Christians. At stated times a certain proportion of strong and promising boys had to be delivered up, to be educated in Mohammedanism and trained in the use of arms. For three centuries the *janizaries*, "new soldiers," recruited in this worse than barbarous fashion, formed the most dreaded part of the Turkish army. The strength of the Christians themselves was turned against Christianity.

SPANISH KINGDOMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

To enlist the assistance of the West, the Greek emperor had brought about a union of the Greek with the Latin Church. But this remedy proved unpopular on the Bosphorus. In 1453 *Sultan Mohammed II entered the city of Constantine the Great*, after the last emperor, likewise a Constantine, with a small army of Greeks and Latins, had defended it heroically for eight weeks.

Europe stood aghast. The popes, who had been the soul of the resistance to the Turks, again took up the defense of Christianity.

"But the apathy and selfishness of the rulers rendered united action impossible. While the popes sold the treasures of art collected in their palaces and even their own table service for the benefit of the crusade, the king of Naples spent the crusading moneys in his pleasures or on private wars; Charles VII of France (§ 639) prohibited the export of the collected sums and sent the fleet equipped by the French Church against England and Naples; the German princes talked in their Diets and intrigued against each other and against Emperor and Pope; Christian of Denmark and Norway stole the crusading money from the sacristy of the cathedral of Roskilde." *Guggenberger*, II, § 115.

659. Pope Calixtus III, of the crusading Spanish nation, worked with untiring energy for a new crusade. *John Hunyady*, administrator of the Kingdom of Hungary, who had for many years been warring with the Turks, and *St. John Capistrano*, a Franciscan friar, whom the Pope had sent out as preacher of the new enterprise, collected an army which was reënforced by thousands of Frenchmen, Germans, and Poles. Mohammed II, with the same army that had reduced Constantinople, laid siege to *Belgrade* on the southern bank of the Danube, now the most important stronghold of Christianity. A fleet, the ships of which had been chained together, was to prevent the approaching Christian host from crossing the river. But with two hundred small boats the indomitable Hunyady effected the passage, and his crusaders joined the garrison of the beleaguered city. The Turks continued their fierce attacks. St. John Capistrano's addresses kept up the courage of the Christians. Finally a

desperate sortie drove the Mohammedans into a headlong flight with the complete loss of their camp and most of their artillery, August 6, 1456.[1] The two heroes of this success, John Hunyady and the saintly Franciscan friar, died soon after.

During the same time the little country of Albania was saved for a generation by a handful of mountaineers under their invincible leader George Castriota, commonly called by his Turkish epithet, *Scanderbeg* (Prince Alexander).

Dissensions among the Turks under less warlike sultans gave some periods of respite to the Christian nations. The popes meanwhile endeavored to strengthen the resistive power of Hungary, until the greater part of that country, too, in 1522 succumbed for a time to the Crescent. Unable to assimilate European civilization, the Turks remained like a hostile army encamped among subject Christian populations, and their baneful influence blighted and largely destroyed the ancient culture of many a conquered land.

THE COUNTRIES TO THE EAST AND NORTH

660. Poland, Prussia, Lithuania. — Poland had recovered from the helpless condition in which we found her at the beginning of the thirteenth century (§ 597). The Teutonic Knights now possessed a strong, well-ordered state between the Baltic Sea and Poland. But grave charges began to be raised against them. They insisted with rigor, nay cruelty, upon what they called their rights, and failed to respect Polish territory. In the course of the fourteenth century numerous frictions led to an ever-increasing enmity between the two neighbors. The intervention of vigorous popes, no doubt, would have prevented much of the dissension and removed many causes of hostility. But this was just the period of the unfortunate Western Schism with all its disastrous effects upon the general interests of Christianity. (See the map after page 480.)

[1] The Sultan's sumptuous tent was sent to the Holy Father, Pope Calixtus III. To commemorate this victory, the feast of the Transfiguration was instituted, to be celebrated in the whole Church on August 6.

SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE
AT THE ENTRANCE OF
THE OTTOMANS
(about 1850)
SCALE OF MILES
0 50 100 200 300
EXPLANATION
Greek
Turkish
Servian
Bulgarian
Hungarian
Venetian
Other Latin Powers
HUNGARY
Tartars
PEREKOP
CRIM
CIRCASSIA
LAZICA
BLACK SEA
ANATOLIA
ARMENIA
GERMANY
CROATIA
BOSNIA
DALMATIA
ALBANIA
TRANSYLVANIA
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
K. BULGARIA
EMPIRE OF SERVIA
EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE
DUCHY OF ATHENS
DUCHY OF NAXOS
KNIGHTS OF ST. JOHN
CRETE
KINGDOM OF CYPRUS
Pressburg
Komorn
Raab
Buda
Pest
Stuhlweissenburg
Zagrab
Zara
Sebenico
Spalato
Ragusa
Trebinje
Kossova
Scodra
Durazzo
Ochrida
Otranto
Kastoria
Belgrade
Widdin
Nissa
Triaditza
Sofia
Philippopolis
Tergovist
Krajova
Rustchuk
Silistria
Nicopolis
Tirnova
Varna
Jassy
Kherson
Sinope
Tripoli
Trebizond
Heracleia
Nicomedeia
Adrianople
Demotika
Seres
Thessalonica
Berea
Larissa
Arta
Lepanto
Thebes
Chalcis
Corinth
Athens
Argos
Nauplia
Patras
Maina
Candia
Rhodes
Phocæa
Magnesia
Smyrna
Philadelphia
Brusa
Nicea
Tarsus
Seleucia
Antioch
Famagusta
Nicosia
Constantinople
Chalcedon
Pallipolis
CORFU
LEUCAS
CEPHALONIA
ZAKYNTHOS
HYDRA
NIO
NAXOS
ANDROS
SAMOS
CHIOS
PSARA
MITYLENE
LEMNOS
TENEDOS
THASOS
R. Danube
R. Drave
R. Save
R. Morava
R. Struma
R. Pruth
R. Dniester
R. Theiss
R. Danube
15
20
25
30
35
40
45

East of both Poland and Prussia was the country of the Lithuanians, still practically pagan (§ 600). The Lithuanians and the Knights were regarded by Poland as her hereditary foes. In 1386, however, *Princess Hedwig, the heiress of the Polish crown, consented to marry Jagello, the chief of the Lithuanians, on condition that he with his whole nation should become Christian.* This momentous fact united the two countries under one king, now called Wladislaw II, against the Teutonic Knights. The war, long evaded by the Knights, finally broke out. In 1410 the Knights were completely defeated in the battle of Tannenberg (west of Kulm). This battle marks the downfall of the Teutonic Order. Fifty years later (1466), after another disastrous war, the Grand Master was forced to cede the land west of the Vistula to Poland, receiving the eastern portion as Polish fief. This is the first great "secularization" of ecclesiastical territory on record.

The Poles have reason, from the national standpoint, to celebrate the victory of Tannenberg. From the standpoint of the Christian we must regret the robbery thus committed by a Catholic power. To some extent, however, it can be excused. The Knights had by this time lost the purpose for which their order had been originally established. Several attempts to find another field where they might serve the cause of Christianity with the sword had failed — not without their own fault. During the period of prosperity religious discipline within the order had suffered greatly. The Prussian cities, justly or unjustly, complained of oppression, and made common cause with the Poles. The kingdom of the united Poles and Lithuanians, on the other hand, had to fulfill in due time a providential mission; namely, to assist valiantly in the defense of western Europe against the Turks.

661. Scandinavia had sent the Northmen into all parts of Europe (§ 450 ff.). After the formation of the three kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway a complete Christian hierarchy of bishops and archbishops kept in touch with Rome and the ecclesiastical life of the continent. But after the dissolution of the brief empire of Knut the Great (§ 502), Scandinavia took no prominent part in European politics. The story of these north-

ern lands is romantic. The very names of the Norse kings make a portrait gallery, — Eric Broadax, Hakon the Old, Hakon the Good, Olaf the Thickset, Olaf the Saint. In 1397 the three kingdoms were united under Queen Margaret of Denmark by the *Union of Calmar*, which left to each realm its own laws and administration, but placed the management of all foreign affairs in the hands of the Danish ruler. In practice the two states of the northern peninsula became dependencies of Denmark. Both Norway and Sweden rebelled several times. In 1521 *Gustavus Wasa* succeeded, after a career of daring adventures, in freeing Sweden, which elected him hereditary king. Norway remained united with Denmark until 1815.

CHAPTER XLVI

CHURCH AND PAPACY DURING THE LATTER PART OF THE MIDDLE AGES

We shall treat, first, of an institution which shows the intimate connection between Church and State, and the high esteem in which the purity of religious doctrine was held in those days. We shall then set forth the events which tended toward a weakening of the papal influence upon the further development of European politics.

THE INQUISITION

662. Origin and Nature. — Faith is a reality. Its teachings are not fairy stories but express *facts*. The Church is the God-appointed guardian of these revealed truths. She is not merely an advisory board, whose findings one may or may not follow. She is endowed with a supreme power to teach and to rule. She can and must demand submission to her decisions. But this power would be futile were it not combined with another power, namely, the right to enforce obedience and to punish those who refuse to abide by her decisions. The penalties, however, which she inflicts will vary according to the times. Circumstances may either recommend or forbid the employment of bodily chastisements besides merely spiritual weapons (§ 495).

Public opinion was far from siding with heretics. On the contrary, in several places notorious heretics were burned at the stake by the enraged populace as early as 1100.

Many of the heretical doctrines which made their appearance about this time were of a very vicious character. They threatened not only religion but the very existence of the whole social and political order. The Albigenses and the Wyclifites have already been mentioned (§§ 543, 637, 638). Induced

by the frequence and gravity of such errors, and more than half forced by the demands of the people, the Church created a special tribunal, the **Papal or Universal Inquisition.** This spiritual court traveled from place to place, as the presence of heretics seemed to require. Its jurisdiction extended only to baptized persons, or such as claimed to be baptized. Its purpose was not to make Christians out of pagans, but to prevent the spreading of error among the children of the Church.

The judges of the Inquisition summoned accused persons, called in witnesses to testify for or against those indicted, and, if they saw fit, inflicted punishment. Their first endeavor was always to convert the guilty by instruction. If they succeeded, spiritual penalties were imposed, such as pilgrimages, fasting, almsdeeds. In severer cases they proceeded to incarceration. Persons that had once recanted and then relapsed or proved absolutely incorrigible were handed over to " the secular arm," [1] to be dealt with according to the laws of the state. The state, too, considered heresy as a crime, because it undermined the foundations of public welfare. The penalty fixed by the secular laws for heresy was death by fire. This was never inflicted by the ecclesiastical judge.

This Roman Inquisition was not extended to all the countries of Europe. It was active chiefly in Italy and Southern France. The prosecution of the Lollards in England, and, as far as it went, of the Hussites in Bohemia, was carried on by the episcopal authorities. In the trial of Hus at Constance, the council itself was the court of justice (§ 674).

663. The Spanish Inquisition. — Spain struggled with religious problems of its own. Moors and Jews in large numbers submitted to the formalities of baptism in order to gain admission to the court and appointments to the highest secular and ecclesiastical offices and thus to destroy both religion and nation-

[1] The spiritual and the secular power were compared with the two arms of the human body and spoken of as "the spiritual arm" and "the secular arm."

ality. To cope with this very serious danger Ferdinand and Isabella petitioned the Pope for a *separate Inquisition for Spain*. This Spanish Inquisition became an institution unique in character and organization. It consisted of several tribunals permanently established in certain cities with a Grand Inquisitor at the head of all. The state exercised a very great influence upon the appointment of its members and even on the procedure itself, though the Spanish Inquisition never was a mere state institution.

664. Character of the Inquisition. — It is evident that something like the Inquisition is a necessity for the Church, unless she is to neglect utterly her duty of preserving unchanged the teachings of Christ. In fact every "religion" must, by some board or committee or assembly, or by some individual officer, or by the general vigilance of the members, watch over the integrity of the body of doctrines to which it has decided to adhere. And as soon as an actual case turns up, the transaction will of itself assume the nature of court functions. Some spiritual or temporal penalty, too, must be inflicted, if the whole proceeding is not to be an empty farce. It is therefore only natural that in the course of time the Church came to organize a regular "Tribunal of Faith." It was the product of its age. Some items of its procedure at first sight indeed seem surprising to the modern mind. To appreciate them correctly, *we must gauge them not by the judicial practice of the present time, but by that of the Middle Ages.*

(1) *The accused never found* out the names of those who either had reported him or had given evidence against him. But those who prescribed this method knew it would appear incongruous. They considered it necessary to take away all risk for such as might feel bound to give information against some important man who could and would, even if condemned, wreak vengeance upon them.

(2) *The use of the rack* in order to extort confessions was taken from the Roman law. The Inquisition did not inflict it as penalty. It was applied in the secular courts without the stringent regulations with which the Inquisition limited its use.

(3) *The prisons of the Inquisition* were as a rule much better and perhaps in no case as bad as were those dens in which criminals were detained by secular potentates.

(4) As to the *death penalty*, see above, § 662. The death by fire certainly cannot compare in cruelty with the butchery which in England

was the regular punishment for high treason, and, later on, for the profession of the Catholic faith. The number of executions has been enormously exaggerated, though according to our views it was big enough. But justice was sterner in those days, and the death penalty was much more readily inflicted.[1]

665. Abuses. — While thus the Inquisition and its methods stand justified, it was like all human institutions liable to error and abuse in its actual workings. Lower officials and even judges made themselves the tools of unscrupulous rulers and of their still more unscrupulous ministers. There are well-attested cases of glaring injustice, above all in Spain, where the influence of the government and of government officials was very great. Once Pope Leo X excommunicated the whole tribunal of Toledo (Spain) for cruelty, and ordered the witnesses to be tried for perjury. Occasionally the government intercepted appeals to Rome. The clause which assigned the entire property of the guilty to the public treasury repeatedly occasioned the condemnation of innocent persons.

Notwithstanding all its shortcomings the Inquisition has done immeasurable good to the Church and mankind. An anti-Catholic historian cannot help admitting that, had the Albigensian heresy "become dominant, or even had it been allowed to exist on equal terms, its influence could not have failed to prove disastrous." And this is only one point.

Taken as a whole the Inquisition does not stand for judicial arbitrariness, but for the reform of crying evils in the contemporaneous methods of administering justice. Many of the details embodied in the procedure of that much maligned tribunal passed into the practice of the secular courts and have been retained ever since. Says a French historian, "The word Inquisition is the scarecrow of unthinking people."[2]

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[1] The Protestants at any rate ought not to upbraid the Inquisition for the multitude of its victims. If the latter had been as numerous as they are represented to be, it would still be little in comparison with the victims of Protestant persecutions. We need only mention the wholesale massacres in Ireland which reduced that Catholic country almost to a wilderness. Instead of an Inquisition, France had its Huguenot Wars with the devastation of a considerable part of its territory; and Germany had its Thirty Years' War, which reduced its population to less than one half.

[2] In our own days the duties of the Inquisition are taken care of by the Roman "congregation" of the *Holy Office — congregation* being the name of the several committees of cardinals each of which looks after a certain kind of business. The Holy Office depends entirely upon the voluntary obedience and religious conscientiousness of those whose doctrines it may have to investigate.

THE AVIGNON PERIOD

666. Pope Boniface VIII (1294–1303) devoted a mind cultivated by profound learning and matured experience to the noble aim of pacifying the Christian nations, enforcing the laws of the Church, and bringing about a new crusade. The Empire had lost most of its power and influence. But the monarchy of France had become strengthened (§ 641). Here ruled **Philip IV, the Fair** (1285–1314), who aimed at nothing less than to restore the Roman Empire in its old boundaries, become himself the Emperor, and make the pope his court chaplain. He waged his private wars with the money which, so far, by a special papal permission, he had levied on the clergy for the purpose of a crusade. His demands, however, did not stop here but grew more and more exorbitant. The clergy implored the Pope for protection against the extortions of royal officers. Then appeared the bull *Clericis Laicos*, already mentioned in connection with England. We have seen what effect it had in that country (§ 537). When Philip continued his aggressions, Pope Boniface VIII addressed to him a letter in which he reproved him in a fatherly way for the evil he was doing. The king had the original document destroyed and another one written in very insulting language, which with an equally insulting answer he spread broadcast among his people. An assembly of pliable bishops and servile barons then put forth a number of the most absurd charges against the Pope, calling him a heretic, a sorcerer, and an unbeliever. They then *appealed from the Pope to a general council and to a future legitimate pope.* Philip IV secretly sent one of his creatures, Nogaret, a low and violent character, to Anagni in Italy where the Pope resided. Having gathered an army of ruffians Nogaret forced his way into the papal palace. Clad in the full insignia of his office, Boniface awaited him. The aged but dauntless pontiff was imprisoned and deprived of food and drink for several days. He was rescued by the citizens of Anagni, and died a month later.

An outcry of indignation arose throughout the whole Christian world. This outrage against the Vicar of Christ showed clearly the criminal aspirations and violent character of a mighty prince. Unfortunately, however, Philip IV did not find a Gregory VII or an Innocent III to oppose him. Thus this sad event was in fact the significant beginning of a new period for the papacy.

667. The Popes in Avignon. — After the one year's pontificate of Benedict XI, the French Archbishop of Bordeaux was chosen pontiff as Clement V. Since the city of Rome just then was again the scene of bloody party strife, Clement V preferred to avoid Italy altogether. He had himself crowned in Lyons, and in 1309 *transferred his residence to Avignon*, a quiet little town on the Rhone. He was the obedient servant of Philip IV. All the papal utterances which had been published against the king were at once repealed. Determined opposition to the extortion of money from the clergy came to an end. The Order of the Knights Templar was suppressed (§ 597). The one thing Philip IV could never obtain from this weak pontiff was the condemnation of Boniface VIII as a heretic.

In all, four popes resided at Avignon, the most prominent of whom was undoubtedly *John XXII*. He strove untiringly for the true welfare of the Church. His most cherished idea, however, the inauguration of a new crusade, was never realized. Under him as well as under his successors the missionary efforts for the conversion of Africa and Asia were zealously continued. One of the four, Blessed Urban V, returned to Rome for a short while, but finally died in Avignon.

668. The Church undoubtedly suffered much through the residence of the popes in Avignon. Though the city was not strictly French territory but belonged to the popes as a kind of outlying province of the Papal States, the one-sided influence of French politics was at times strongly noticeable. It was, moreover, principally in consequence of the absence of the pontiffs that the Papal States at one time almost slipped from their control, and the loss of this source of revenue made it necessary to insist still more extensively upon the payment of papal taxes by eccle-

siastics the world over (§ 570). All this caused uneasiness and loud complaints, and *seriously undermined the general confidence in the fairness and integrity of the Holy See.* There is some reason to speak of the Avignon period as "the Babylonian Exile of the Papacy."

In 1377, Gregory XI at last made up his mind to return to the Eternal City, and he in fact died there the year following, — just before he could carry out his resolution to go back to Avignon. "He found the ancient monuments destroyed, most of the 414 churches in ruins, commerce paralyzed, and the number of inhabitants reduced to 30,000."

THE GREAT WESTERN SCHISM

669. Origin. — After the death of Gregory XI, the cardinals assembled for the conclave in Rome. The populace gathered in front of the building and wildly clamored for a Roman or, at least, an Italian pope. The cardinals, to avoid the charge of intimidation, chose an Italian archbishop who assumed the name of Urban VI. To forestall all objections they met again the following day and, in due form, cast their votes for him a second time.

All might have been well had Urban VI excelled as much in prudence as in sanctity and learning. At once, with much harshness, he addressed himself to the task of a much needed reform of the papal court. The cardinals, accustomed to a less restrained life in Avignon, were loath to submit to his severe regulations. Within a few months there was general dissatisfaction. His refusal to go to Avignon occasioned an open rebellion upon the part of the eleven French cardinals. They withdrew to another city, claimed that Urban VI was no legitimate pontiff since in electing him they had not been free, and proceeded to the election of another pope. The king of France eagerly espoused the cause of the antipope, Clement VII, who at once took up his residence in Avignon. French influence gained him additional supporters among the Christian rulers. Thus, in 1378, began the Great Western Schism.

There were now two men each of whom claimed to be the successor of Peter, each elected by cardinals. Christianity was divided into two " obediences." The schism was perpetuated by each pope's appointing cardinals who after his death elected a successor.

670. Effects of the Schism. — The people did not doubt that one only of the two claimants could be the right pope. But it was difficult, if not impossible, for most to decide. Had not the majority of the cardinals rejected Urban VI? Was it not for the cardinals, the august senate of the Church, to know and state whether Urban's election had taken place in the lawful manner? Hence there were well-meaning people on both sides. In our own days, however, when all the facts can be better surveyed, the Roman pope is clearly seen to have been the real head of the Church.

This deplorable condition was productive of unspeakable confusion. There were often two claimants to the same bishopric or abbey or parish, and each had sentence of excommunication pronounced upon him by the pope to whom the other adhered. In many churches divine services were neglected. The religious devotion of the people grew lukewarm. The charges of rapacity against the papacy grew in volume and violence, as each of the two popes was obliged to increase the already heavy demands for support (§ 668). The rulers occasionally changed sides, accordingly, as one pontiff promised them greater advantages than the other. The schism made the popes more dependent upon the secular power than any previous event had done. Thus the prestige of the Holy See, which had been suffering during the Avignon period, fell still more in consequence of the schism.

To make sure that the influence of a " hostile " pope should not find its way into their realms, some rulers, in particular those of England, forbade the introduction of any papal document without their own approval. This practice they kept up even after the schism was ended. Certain potentates, Catholic and non-Catholic, have at times extended

this demand even to the pastoral letters of the bishops. Of course no such right exists. Christ did not oblige His apostles to submit their official utterances to the secular magistrates before publishing them, nor has the ecclesiastical authority ever granted any such privilege.

671. Many plans were tried to put an end to this sad state of affairs in the Church. When one decade after another elapsed without any sign of reconciliation between the two rival " popes," prominent men, foremost of all the University of Paris, advanced the idea, unknown to former ages, that a general council is above the pope. A council, it was thought, could and ought to take this matter in hand. An attempt made by the cardinals of both sides to bring the two claimants together had failed. Thereupon six cardinals of the Avignon pope, Benedict XIII, joined seven cardinals of Gregory XII, the Roman pontiff, and these thirteen constituted themselves a provisional government for the Church. In this arrogated capacity they summoned the bishops of the world to a *general council to meet at Pisa* in Italy, 1409. This council, " assembled by the grace of the Holy Ghost," declared both claimants deposed and elected a new one. Of course neither of the former two submitted to the verdict of this self-appointed tribunal. And so the world, as it is flippantly said, now had three popes instead of two.

Inasmuch as this assembly assumed authority over the Church it was illegitimate and revolutionary from the start, because most certainly it was neither summoned, nor presided over, nor sanctioned by the real pope. Whichsoever of the two be deemed the true successor of St. Peter, — and one of them surely was, — the council was in direct opposition to him. (See *Guggenberger*, II, §§ 34–37.)

672. Heresies contributed much to aggravate the deplorable state of Christianity. The most dangerous were the innovations of Wyclif (§ 637). The English queen at that time was a Bohemian princess. The intercommunication between the two countries, brought on by this connection, caused Wyclif's ideas to be spread in Bohemia. They were eagerly caught up by one of the professors in the university of the capital, *Jerome of Prague*,

and through him they passed to *Johannes Hus*. Both had been working seriously for a much needed reform of the clergy and people but like Wyclif they overshot the mark. Hus exaggerated Wyclif's doctrine by teaching, as some of the Lollards did, that secular magistrates as well as spiritual lose all their power by mortal sins. Many of the Bohemian nobility were delighted to hear that the Church must be deprived of all her possessions. Christ, these heretics taught, is not present in the Blessed Sacrament under each separate species; hence Communion must be received by the faithful under both species.

The university had forty-five theses extracted from Wyclif's books. These theses were solemnly condemned through the influence of the German and Polish professors. Thereupon Hus, already an extremely popular preacher, posed as the champion of Bohemian nationality. By royal mandate the non-Bohemian professors and students were forcibly deprived of the rights which they had enjoyed since the establishment of the institution; 20,000 students, it is said, directly left the university. Hus became the hero of a strong and influential party. By temporizing for quite a while and using ambiguous terms he evaded removal and punishment. In the meantime, his errors began to take root in the neighboring countries.

673. The End of the Schism: The Council of Constance. — In Germany Sigismund, brother of the King of Bohemia and son of Charles IV (§ 652), was recognized as Roman King. Fully realizing the greatness of his vocation, he resolved to spare no efforts and expense to end the pernicious schism. He adhered, like many other excellent men, to the Pisan pope, John XXIII.

Sigismund prevailed upon John XXIII, whose "obedience," as a matter of fact, was the largest, to summon a council to Constance, a German city on the Rhine. The eyes of Europe now hopefully turned to that little town beyond the Alps where assembled one of the most brilliant gatherings the Middle Ages had seen. These expectations were not disappointed.

John XXIII soon found that grave charges against him were

circulated among the members of the council. He hoped to break up the assembly by secretly leaving the city. But King Sigismund had him brought back a prisoner, and by his firmness prevented the dissolution of the synod. John XXIII was now expected to abdicate. This he did, and of his own accord added the protestation that it was his free resolution to renounce the papal dignity. To prevent any untoward influence upon him Sigismund ordered him to be kept in confinement. While the council continued its sessions the Roman King set out on a journey to the kings of France, England, and Spain, to secure them for the cause of unity. In this matter his endeavors were successful, though he failed to reëstablish peace between France and England (§ 639).

Gregory XII, the Roman pope, who, as we now know, was the real Vicar of Christ, sent an ambassador to Constance, and through him first convoked the council on his part and ordered his own followers, bishops as well as cardinals, to join it. He then declared through the same legate that for the good of the Church he resigned his office as pope. The third claimant, Benedict XIII, whose " obedience " had shrunk to his ancestral castle, might be safely ignored. St. Vincent Ferrer, who had been his confessor, left him when the " pope " refused to abdicate for the welfare of Christianity.

The papal throne now being evidently vacant a new pope was elected by unanimous vote, and he assumed the name of *Martin V*. When the Christian world learned that there was once more a universally recognized pope and that *the unity of Christianity was restored, " men could scarcely speak for joy."*

With reference to the Great Western Schism a bitterly anti-Catholic historian, Gregorovius, says: " Every temporal power would have perished therein. But so wonderful was the organization of the spiritual empire, and so indestructible the very idea of the papacy, that this widest of schisms only demonstrated its indivisibility."

674. The Execution of Johannes Hus. — Before the election of *Martin V* the council had proceeded against Johannes Hus, the

Bohemian heretic. Sigismund wished him to appear, but Hus was in no way forced to do so. On his arrival he was treated with the utmost forbearance. The excommunication into which he had fallen was temporarily lifted. He was forbidden only to say Mass and to preach, before the council had passed upon his doctrine. But accustomed to disregard his superiors, Hus said Mass privately, admitted numerous visitors, and inveighed in sermons against Pope and cardinals and the whole Church. Under the very eyes of the council he sanctioned by letter the practice of receiving Communion under both species because, as he said, it was enjoined by the Bible. Hus considered the council as something like a debating society, where all are of equal authority, whereas a council, as successor to the College of the Apostles, must demand submission. After much patience, and literally exhausting all means of kindness and persuasion, the council declared Hus an incorrigible heretic and handed him over to the secular authority. According to the law of the time he was burned at the stake. His ashes were thrown into the Rhine.[1] Jerome of Prague suffered the same fate.

" With more moderation and less pride John Hus, instead of suffering the death of fire, could have become an ornament in the august assembly. By his learning and eloquence he could have contributed a large share to the solution of the greatest problems of Europe." Johannes Hus, a master of the Bohemian language, poisoned a large part of the Bohemian nation against that Church to which it owed its civilization and splendor.

675. The Hussite Wars. — The execution of Hus was represented in Bohemia as an attack at once upon the new religion and upon Bohemian nationality. Long years of fanatical party strife began, which devastated the whole of Bohemia and the adjoining German provinces.

[1] King Sigismund had given Hus a "safe conduct." It is often alleged that his execution was a violation of this guarantee of safety. But the "safe conduct" was meant merely as a protection against unlawful aggressions, not against the just verdict of his judges. It was not a grant of impunity for whatever he might have committed or was going to commit. That the council declared a promise given to a heretic unbinding is a lie pure and simple.

Five crusades were preached against the Hussites, but their hordes proved unconquerable. At last an agreement with the Council of Basel allowed them to receive Communion under both species provided they believed in the presence of Jesus Christ under each species. But Bohemia's agriculture and commerce was ruined, and her intellectual ascendency had suffered a severe blow (§ 652).

CHAPTER XLVII

THE RENAISSANCE

The period of the Renaissance concludes the era of religious unity. Its name is taken from one of its most remarkable features, the "renaissance," rebirth, of ancient classic literature. It partly overlapped the preceding period and even began at different times in the different countries. Nor does it show the same characteristics in all lands and nations.

THE RENAISSANCE PROPER: THE REVIVAL OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE

676. Origin. — About the middle of the fourteenth century there arose in Italy a new fervor in the appreciation of the ancient classic works of the Roman authors. The study of the masterpieces of Cicero, Virgil, and others had indeed never died out during the Middle Ages. They were studied, imitated, quoted. Above all they were faithfully transcribed by the monks of the monasteries (§ 408). Latin, too, always remained the language of the clergy, the educated, and the schools, though the great teachers of Scholasticism (§ 616 ff.) adapted it to the needs of their branches of learning. Now the Latin tongue itself became the object of careful study. Hand in hand with this went a greater interest in the beauties of nature.

St. Francis of Assisi (§ 584) sang wonderful hymns to glorify God in the beauties of His visible creation. The same love of nature is a prominent feature in the grandest work of Dante (§ 615). Francis Petrarch (1304–1374) is considered the real father and chief promoter of *humanism*, as the new study is frequently called. The host of his followers grew from year to year. Classic Latin became the everyday language of these

enthusiasts. They employed it in conversation, in public productions, in their private letters. They eagerly searched for manuscripts of the ancient works, which they found chiefly in the monasteries.

Humanism spread fast through the various countries of Christendom and took hold of all classes of people who could afford to give time to such pursuits. The laity vied with the clergy in literary and scientific endeavor. The possession of libraries was no longer confined to ecclesiastics; no palace was thought to be complete unless it could boast of a goodly collection of books. Moreover, "in the general interest in classical learning . . . *woman* took a significant part. From the beginning of the revival we find the record of her literary tastes and accomplishments side by side with those of the leading men of her time."

PETRARCH

677. Attitude toward Religion. — In its best representatives humanism was far from being opposed to the Church. Petrarch himself says: "Let us admire their [the ancient writers'] intellectual gifts, but in such wise as to reverence the Creator of these gifts. Let us have compassion on the errors of these men while we congratulate ourselves and acknowledge that out of mercy, without any merit of our own, we have been favored above our forefathers by Him who has hidden his secrets from the wise and

graciously manifested them to little ones. . . . The real wisdom of God is Christ."

Not all the humanists harbored the same sentiments. There were not lacking those who would gladly have thrown everything overboard that was not in full accord with the views of the pagans whose writings they admired. They imitated not only the elegance of diction to be found in the works of these pagan writers, but also the immorality of their lives. Humanists of this stamp we call *radicals*, those who remained faithful Christians, *conservatives*. The radicals, as well as others who did not go quite so far, often made the Church and all her ministers the butt of their ridicule.

The Church as such never antagonized humanism. True, a few popes did not positively favor it, because other interests of the Church demanded attention more urgently. Most of the popes, however, were its liberal promoters. In Rome brilliant minds were sure of finding every kind of encouragement. In fact, without the active support and generous assistance of ecclesiastical dignitaries humanism could never have obtained so general a hold upon the nations of western Christendom.

678. Humanism in Various Countries. — In *Italy* humanists of both classes were strongly represented. Some of the radicals, in addition to leading the loosest kind of life, went so far as even to plan the death of such persons as seemed opposed to their revolutionary projects. Boccaccio, one of the originators of the humanistic movement, gave to literature some of the vilest productions. He died, however, in union with the Church, and in his last hours besought his friends to prevent as much as possible the spread and reading of his works.

Two monks, William Snelling and William Hadley, who had made their studies in Italy, introduced humanism into *England*. It found a liberal protector in Cardinal Wolsey. Blessed Thomas More, sometime the king's chancellor, encouraged famous humanists and was no mean scholar himself. Blessed Bishop Fisher of Rochester, Dean Colet, and others were not only ardent humanists but thorough and practical churchmen.

The first *German* humanists harmoniously combined great linguistic abilities with humble submission to the doctrines and laws of their

religion. Some of their successors, however, indulged in violent attacks, chiefly by means of satire, upon Scholasticism, the religious orders, the priesthood and Papacy, and upon sacred ceremonies and pious customs.

679. Two facts contributed greatly to the further development and rapid spread of the humanistic tendencies. The first was the *influx of Greek scholars* from the East. They came to participate in several councils. The constant attacks of the Turks caused many to flee to the West in search of new homes. This was still more the case in the first years after the conquest of Constantinople (1453). These visitors and refugees acquainted the Italian humanists, and through them those of other countries, with the Greek language and the works of the Greek poets, orators, and historians, all of which had been very little known so far. The soil was well prepared for the new seed. The masterpieces of Hellas were added to the humanistic program, and enthusiastically studied. It was a new impetus for the progress of the classical revival. Greek, however, never became quite so generally known as Latin.

The other fact, which was of far greater importance still, was the *invention of printing*, which reduced the cost of books enormously and thus facilitated the efforts of teachers and students (§ 681).

680. One great result of the humanistic movement was a gradual change in the curriculum of the faculty of arts in the universities (§ 617). This faculty now began to aim primarily at training the young student to a proficiency in classical Latin and Greek and to a certain degree of familiarity with the literature of both these languages. For several centuries this proficiency in the classics remained the indispensable condition for the study of all the higher branches, and is still so, the world over, for the study of theology.

Humanism was, however, not narrowed down to Latin and Greek. It included Hebrew and other idioms useful for the understanding of the Bible. In fact it created a new branch of

study, *philology*, which strives for a deeper insight into the nature of languages.

INVENTIONS, DISCOVERIES, ARTS

681. The Invention of Printing. — All the books so far used in the world had been handwritten, and were, consequently, very expensive. A tome of moderate size was a precious possession. A library of a few hundred volumes represented an almost princely fortune. This scarcity of books had ever proved the greatest obstacle to general education. This was now to be changed. *About 1450 John Gutenberg of Mainz (Mayence) invented the art of printing.*

AN EARLY PRINT

Produced at Naples in 1478. The *D* of the word *Domine* is shaped into a large initial with a miniature picture in it. These initials as well as the wide margins found in many of the early printed books were commonly hand-painted in very rich colors. Books printed before 1500 are called *incunabula*, cradle prints. The term implies that at that period the art of printing was still "in the cradle." As a matter of fact many, if not most, incunabula belong to the finest productions of the art. This illustration also shows how some of the most beautiful incunabula have become disfigured by careless handling.

The printing of pictures from entire wooden plates (wood engraving) had been practiced in Germany for some time. Even words and short texts were cut in wood and thus printed. Laurenz Coster, of Harlem, began to cut the individual letters separately, so that he could use the same type in various words and sentences. He even produced metal type which he cast in sand molds. Thus he printed a number of books, chiefly small schoolbooks, such as Latin grammars. He is rightly considered the inventor of "movable type." Gutenberg

probably got the idea from Coster. But he substituted metal molds for the sand molds, and thus was able to cast a large number of types from one mold. He also invented a method to make the production of type very rapid. These two improvements meant an essential change. Hence, though Coster's merits must not be underrated, Mainz is the real birthplace of printing. It was from Mainz that the art spread to other places, even to Coster's own country, the Netherlands.

"This invention," says a great historian, "the mightiest and most important of civilization next to the art of writing, gave as it were wings to the human mind." "Most commendable," wrote Pope Innocent VIII in 1487, "is the art of printing, inasmuch as good and useful books are thereby easily multiplied."

The art spread rapidly. From the start it was most liberally patronized by ecclesiastics and monasteries. The ancient Benedictine abbey of Subiaco was the first to set up a printing press in Italy, and was followed by many convents in other countries. In 1474 William Caxton introduced printing into England. Next to Germany, Italy possessed the greatest number of presses. By the end of the century every large city in Europe had its printing establishments.

Naturally the printers produced the books that were in demand. Before the year 1500 there had appeared more than a hundred editions of the Latin Bible, and dozens of translations of Holy Writ into the several vernacular languages. Alongside these were editions of the great ecclesiastical writers, "the Fathers of the Church," together with Greek and Latin classics, grammars and other schoolbooks, catechisms and prayer books, and collections of religious and secular songs. This allows us to judge of the intellectual wants of the people. The trade in manuscripts, necessarily very limited, now gave way to a brisk international book trade with its centers in the prominent cities of Europe.

682. Renaissance Art. — In Italy, where there still remained many of the ancient edifices and monuments, — some in ruins, others in varying stages of preservation, — the new movement led to an imitation of the Roman manner of building. The Gothic was abandoned and another style of *architecture* grew up,

called the *Renaissance style*. Like the Romanesque (§ 625) it employed the round arch, and reintroduced many of the features found in the structures of the ancients. It often made use of the cupola. If we may deplore the passing of the graceful Gothic, we should remember that the mind of the people was no longer that of the thirteenth century. The new style easily adapted itself to all kinds of buildings, secular as well as ecclesiastical.

St. Peter's Church, Rome

Its best productions are characterized by a majestic beauty. One of its greatest creations is the present church of St. Peter in Rome. (*H. T. F.*, "Architecture" (8).)

Painting had made great progress. The artists of the Renaissance are among the best the world has ever known. Perspective was now well observed. An improved method of handling oil colors made it possible to paint on canvas, whereas up to 1450 paintings were mainly frescoes, that is, carried out upon the freshly plastered walls or ceilings of edifices. The art became more independent of architecture.

INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL OF GRANADA

The style is Spanish Renaissance. Compare with the interior of the Cathedral of Reims (page 494).

Italian painting culminated in the eighty years from 1470 to 1550. Between these dates came the work of Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Fra Angelico, Raphael, and scores of others. Many of these practiced more than one art; Michael Angelo was great as architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor, and he was not without fame as a poet. Germany had *Albert Dürer* and *Hans Holbein.* The great period of the Flemish and Dutch art was to come later, between 1600 and 1660, with *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, and *Rembrandt.* At the same time flourished the Spaniards *Velázquez* and *Murillo.* Neither France nor England produced much in this direction at this time. Several of the great artists, however, found liberal patronage in Paris and London.

683. Geographical Discoveries. — Though in the Middle Ages the common people entertained the most fantastic ideas concerning the shape of the earth, the greater minds well knew that our planet is a globe. They had no correct knowledge, however, of the distribution of land and water and of the configuration of the continents. Their world practically did not reach farther than the Mediterranean and its immediate surroundings. But in the thirteenth century Franciscan missionaries returning from the Far East reported that there was an ocean east of " Cathai " (China). Other travelers even returned by sea from Peking through the Asiatic straits and the Indian Ocean. It was therefore clear that this ocean, the existence of which had been known in some nebulous way, was not landlocked. Friar Bacon (§ 623) in his boldness advanced the idea that possibly the Atlantic Ocean was the one side of a large sea which with its other side washed the shores of China. Parts of his writings on this subject were embodied in a work which in later centuries became a favorite book of **Christopher Columbus.**

These speculations assumed practical shape when the Turks extended their power over all those lands which lay in the direct route to India, and thus rendered much more difficult and dangerous the commerce which had sprung up with that far-off country during the crusades.

In the fifteenth century the Portuguese entered upon a career of naval discoveries under their great *Prince Henry the Navi-*

gator, and in a series of daring voyages explored the western coast of Africa. On one of these cruises *Bartholomeu Dias*, after sailing far into the south, was carried away by a storm to the eastward and observed that in this new and unfamiliar position he had the coast of Africa on his left hand. He had rounded the southern point of the African continent, the Cape of Good Hope. It was not before 1498, however, that *Vasco da Gama actually reached India*. So this country of fabulous riches became directly accessible by sea. These discoveries gave Portugal the monopoly of the Indian trade, and enabled her to build up a vast empire of colonies in the countries around the Indian Ocean.

Some ten years before this happened, *Christopher Columbus* approached the King of Portugal with a scheme for finding a more direct way to India by sailing due west into the Atlantic. This, he thought, must bring him to the eastern coast of India. His offers were rejected. But the high-minded Queen Isabella of Castile (§ 657) furnished him the little fleet with which, *on the memorable 12th of October of the year 1492, he discovered the New World*, thinking, however, that he had reached the outlying islands of India. In the course of the next fifty years Spain sent out hundreds of daring adventurers, the " conquistadores," who conquered for her nearly all of South and Central America with their enormous treasures of gold and silver.

By these discoveries the Mediterranean lost much of its importance as a highway of trade. This was a hard blow for the Italian cities which so far had been the principal factors in the European commerce with India.

684. Copernicus. — While the educated knew that the earth is a globe, they thought that it was the center of the universe, and that the sun and the planets were moving around it (§ 341). The first to express serious doubts about this was Cardinal Nicholas Krebs, usually called, from his birthplace, Nicholas of Cusa (Kues), who died in 1464. He was followed by the Polish astronomer Copernicus, whose book setting forth the new theory appeared in 1543 and was dedicated to Pope Paul III. Accord-

ing to Copernicus the sun is the center of the solar system, while the earth daily revolves upon its own axis, and, together with the other planets, moves around the sun in longer intervals.

The moment was inopportune for such a theory. Luther had just declared the Bible the sole source of faith. *The new system seemed to be in open conflict with the way in which Holy Scripture speaks of the movements of the sun, moon, and stars.* Hence the " Reformer " and his friends staunchly opposed Copernicus' views, which found few adherents among the Protestants. The controversy lasted seventy years, before the Catholic Church felt obliged to take a stand in this matter. In Italy *Galileo Galilei* advanced Copernicus' system without, however, being able to give a single convincing proof for it. All the arguments which he adduced have since been abandoned. To save the traditional interpretation of the Bible the Church authorities in 1616 prohibited books advocating the idea of Copernicus, unless so altered as to represent it as an hypothesis and not as a fact. Scientific discussion was never forbidden, and in 1758 the prohibition was withdrawn.

A CLOSING WORD ON THE MIDDLE AGES

We are now at the end of the Middle Ages. The thousand years through which our minds have traveled saw the world united in one faith which guided the life of high and low in all its details. The same moral principles were appealed to by all, the principles which we still learn in our catechism. The same principles ruled in political life. Although the mighty did not always cheerfully submit to them, they too recognized that all men were subject to a common moral law; that king and beggar were to be judged by the same almighty and just God. There was unity in organization, the whole Christian world submitting to the successor of St. Peter in Rome, the Sovereign Pontiff. Even politically the world was united. One of the Christian princes, who had the sublime title of Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was the ideal head of the entire Christian commonwealth. Though finally little actual power remained to the bearer of the imperial crown, the very idea of the Holy Roman Empire recalled the fact that all states and nations really form one great human and Christian family.

During the Middle Ages the rude states of the fifth and sixth centuries assumed a more definite shape and worked out their political institutions. Constitutional government by a monarch and some sort of representation of the people became the vogue in the best times of the Middle Ages. Municipal life flourished in countless cities. The laboring classes established their wonderful organizations. The educational world devised its lower and higher schools crowned by the universities. Philosophy and theology laid out the system of Scholasticism, both comprehensive and immortal. Buildings that vie in grandeur and beauty with the greatest ever produced by man ornamented the

large cities and even the country towns. Finally the intellectual cravings of the population welcomed the art of printing and were the ultimate cause of its commercial success. Medieval study led to the discovery of new worlds. A medieval thinker was the first to state that the earth revolves around the sun.

The Middle Ages were a great time in spite of the cases of tyranny, cruelty, and oppression which disfigure many of the pages of its history. And even the criminals, royal criminals included, retained deep in their hearts the Christian faith, and very rarely refused to acknowledge the wrongfulness of their actions and to be reconciled to God and men, at least in the face of death.

Yet like all great periods of history the Middle Ages, too, had in themselves the germs of further development. They did not mark a final stage. In methods of government, in arts and sciences, and even in the utterances of genuine piety real progress was made. Unfortunately the last years of the great period contained also the germs of deterioration. In politics the beginnings appeared of greater absolutism of the rulers. In the realm of religion we discern a tendency to overdo certain pious practices and to lay less stress than before on a truly moral life, while at the same time many members of clergy and hierarchy are no longer giving the example of reproachless virtue. Ambitious men, applying principles foreign to the Middle Ages, may use these conditions as a pretext for the disparagement of medieval achievements. But a considerable heritage of good has nevertheless passed to following generations. We may safely say that whatever is good in the later progress of mankind is based upon the inheritance we have received from medieval man.

EXERCISES

The following suggestions, destined to assist the teacher in assigning home or class work, are of two kinds. Those given under **A** are based on the text of the book; those under **B** are references to additional reading.

Several exercises which are applicable to almost every chapter are given here once for all, instead of being repeated each time:

a. Summaries of the whole chapter, or parts of it, as the teacher sees fit or as time permits.

b. Lists of names, with short explanations, of places (giving location and the facts which made each important), or of persons (mentioning time and place of their lives, position, and reason of their fame), or of institutions (stating the nation or land where they existed and their character), or of articles or works of art, or promiscuously of all names that have occurred, especially in short chapters.

c. Chronological lists of events, designating dates either by years if years are given in the book, or in some more general way, as, in the sixth century B.C., or after the battle of Cannae, or during the crusades.

d. Narratives reproducing parts of the text more or less in the student's own words, orally or in writing.

e. Catchword reviews, as explained below in Chapter XI, No. 4.

All these exercises, and those suggested under **A** for the several chapters as well, may be carried out by collaboration of the whole class under the teacher's assistance and direction; or they may be given as class work to be done with or without the book, or as home assignment. (An oral exercise recommended by many is " examining with the books open," especially as preparation for a " quiz " or written test.)

Those who wish for a full set of detailed questions are referred to a special pamphlet, *Questions on Betten's Ancient and Medieval History,* published by The Loyola Press, 3441, North Ashland Avenue, Chicago.

See also the note at the beginning of the index.

The passages from the books referred to under **B** may be read in class, provided the library possesses a sufficient number of copies. Or they may be used for home assignments, or for " class reports " of various lengths, to be prepared and delivered by individual students. The

purpose of these readings and of the exercises based on them is to keep the minds of the students in some way busy with the matter that is being treated. How much and how little can be actually carried out must be left to the judgment of the teacher.

The following abbreviations are used. (For the full titles see the book list.)

D. R. — Davis, *Readings*
B. S. — Botsford, *Source Book of Ancient History*
H. T. F. — Betten, *Historical Terms and Facts*
O. S. M. — Ogg, *Source Book of Medieval History*
Guggenberger — Guggenberger, *History of the Christian Era*

The students should be encouraged to notice and look for passages illustrating chapters of history in their own private reading and even in periodicals and newspapers.

These suggestions do not include map exercises, though these are rightly considered very helpful. The book list, however, indicates several firms which sell outline maps and outline atlases. The latter contain plenty of suggestions for map work.

Introduction. This section need not necessarily be gone through in the beginning. It may be referred to later on. For deeper study: Devas, *Key to the World's Progress*, part I; Graham, *How We Got the Bible; H. T. F.* " Bible," " Civilization," " Prehistoric Times."

Chapters I and II. A. (1) What facts show that there must have been a high degree of civilization before the Deluge? (2) Write in three short columns, side by side, the nations which descend from each of the sons of Noah.

B. First chapters in Ecker's *Bible Lessons*. Maturer students will enjoy chapters in the following books: Houck, *Our Palace Beautiful;* Houck, *Man's Place in the Visible Creation;* Keary, *Dawn of History; H. T. F.* under " Deluge," " Creation," " Evolution," " Savagery," " Race"; Betten, *Ancient World*, p. 7, on the art of writing.

Chapter IV. A. (1) Measure with the " scale of miles " the bee line from the first cataract to the mouth of the Nile. (2) Enumerate the cities, beginning in the south, and state when each occurs in history and why. (3) Why should you not have liked to live in Egypt? (4) Point out differences between the Egyptian temples and the Christian churches.

B. Ecker's *Bible Lessons*, pp. 34–52 (the story of " Joseph in Egypt "; the students will recognize many of the features of Egyptian life). *D. R.*, I: p. 7, an Egyptian army; p. 6, a city; p. 12, a bazaar (market hall); p. 15, moral precepts (which of them sound the most

Christian?). Do not fail to view Egyptian antiquities in museums, if you have a chance. This hint will apply to many other chapters.

Chapter V. A. (1) Compare the writings of the Babylonians with those of the Egyptians, as to places, material, contents, etc. (2) Which great works were common to both, and why? (3) In what branches did the Babylonians surpass the Egyptians, or the converse? (4) Write a letter such as a young Babylonian might have written when he saw Egypt. (5) Make a list of the things we owe to Babylonia.

B. *D. R.*, I: pp. 32 ff., an Assyrian city; p. 34, Sargon's palace; p. 27, denunciation of Nineveh. Ecker's *Bible Lessons:* p. 146, end of the Kingdom of Israel; p. 152, failure of the Assyrian general Holofernes to conquer the Kingdom of Juda; p. 154, destruction of Jerusalem; p. 163, end of the Babylonian kingdom.

Chapter VI. A. (1) Locate, by means of the cities and otherwise, the position of Phoenicia and Palestine on the larger maps. (2) What might a Phoenician sailor have told after returning from a long trip? (3) What cities and countries are named in the history of the Hebrews, and were they in friendly or hostile relation to them? (4) Explain the terms, Promised Land, Covenant, Exodus, Babylonian Captivity. (5) On what occasion do the Hebrews and Phoenicians appear in friendly intercommunication?

B. Ecker's *Bible Lessons:* pp. 13 ff., the call of Abraham (with useful pictures and map sketches); pp. 57 ff., the deliverance from Egyptian oppression, journey through the desert, conquest of Palestine; pp. 110 ff., Kings Saul, David, Solomon; p. 135, division of the kingdom; p. 167, return from the Babylonian captivity.

Chapter VII. A. (1) In which points was the Persian religion correct, and in which was it incorrect? (2) Why did the Persians adopt a cuneiform writing, and not the hieroglyphs of Egypt? (3) Why does the Persian Empire more than any one of those which went before it deserve the proud title of "World Empire"?

B. *D. R.*, I: p. 45, how Cyrus conquered Babylon (compare with note in Ecker's *Bible Lessons*, p. 163); pp. 48 ff., Darius describes his deeds; pp. 55, 56, Zoroaster proclaims his religion (try to distinguish the good points from errors); p. 58, Herodotus' account of religious, moral, and social customs. Some students may profitably study the general section on money in Burke's *Political Economy.*

Chapter IX. A. (1) Briefly describe the several parts of the government of Greek cities. (2) What difference do you see between the kings of the Cretan and those of the Achaean period? (3) Compare the ideas of a future life of the Greeks with those of the Egyptians.

(4) Show that the culture of the Achaeans was lower than that of the Cretans.

B. *D. R.*, I: pp. 62 ff., an account, by one of the discoverers, of Cretan remains; pp. 65 ff., description of an assembly of the Achaeans before Troy; pp. 73 ff., the "Shield of Achilles," a vivid description of the life in the Achaean age; *B. S.*, pp. 89 ff., a passage from Homer which narrates the visit of Odysseus to "Hades," the underworld, where he sees the soul of his mother.

Chapter X. A. (1) Are there any buildings in your city which have Greek columns? Of which order? (2) Compare the parts of the Spartan government with those of the Athenian government as reformed by Clisthenes. (3) In which of the two states were the rights of parents and children more respected? (4) Explain the following terms: Areopagus, Assembly, Helot, archon, eupatrids, tyrant. (5) Do you think that ordinarily an Athenian of this period was able to write?

B. *D. R.*, I: pp. 86–90, instances of answers given by the oracle of Apollo; pp. 90 ff., description of Delphi and its institutions; pp. 94 ff., description of Olympia, various contests, buildings and works of art; pp. 103 ff., Spartan life and manners; p. 122, description of "ostracism." *B. S.*, pp. 123 ff., a long passage from Aristotle (our best source) on the Athenian constitution.

Chapter XI. A. (1) Point out the various occasions on which Athens showed itself unselfishly devoted to the general cause of Hellas. (2) What qualities made Aristides a great man? (3) Write a letter as coming from an Athenian after the battle of Salamis. (4) An exercise similar to those described in the beginning may be suggested here, namely, a *catchword review* on the Persian Wars, consisting of rapid statements; thus: Persian conquest of Lydia and the Asiatic Greeks; revolt of Ionia, 500 B.C.; Athenian aid; reconquest of Ionia by Persia; first expedition against European Greece, 492 B.C.; Mount Athos; second expedition; across the Aegean; etc.

B. *B. S.:* pp. 152 ff., quotations from Herodotus on the Ionic revolt; p. 156, how a child prevented the Spartans from giving aid to the Ionians. *D. R.*, I: pp. 155 ff., description of the Persian army; pp. 165 ff. Thermopylae; p. 177, how Themistocles brought on the battle of Salamis.

Chapter XII. A. (1) State briefly how Athens acquired her empire, §§ 133–136. (2) Describe the three parts of the fortifications of Athens. (3) Write a summary of the deeds of Themistocles. (A brief "life" of this great Athenian, including his tragic end, may be compiled from *B. S.*; for references see the index.) (4) Enumerate the acts of hostility which took place between Athens and Sparta.

B. *B. S.:* pp. 175 ff., reproductions of sources from which our knowledge of these events is derived; p. 185, the transfer of the Delian treasury to Athens. *D. R.*, I: pp. 199 ff., from Plutarch's life of Cimon, showing among other things how the military service of Athens' allies was changed into money contributions; p. 205, the expedition to Egypt.

Chapter XIII. A. This chapter is better adapted to reading and discussion in class, with oral or written reproductions, more or less in the student's own words, of individual topics as indicated by the section headings, and for class reports on additional reading.

B. *D. R.*, I: pp. 207–212, Pericles' wonderful activity, the buildings he erected, the encouragement he gave to commerce and art. There is a similar, but not identical, passage in *B. S.*, pp. 180–189. On the influence of naval power on commerce, *B. S.*, p. 205. *D. R.*, I: pp. 265 ff., Xenophon's picture of an ideal Greek household. (On the authors named in these sections see the "Biographical Notes," p. 353 in *D. R.*) Here is the place for perusing Davis's *A Day in Old Athens;* especially suggested: the School Boys of Athens, the Women of Athens, the Piraeus and the Shipping.

Chapter XIV. A. (1) What two purposes had the "Long Walls" served in this war? (2) Why was the city taken in spite of these fortifications? (3) Write a brief life of Alcibiades. (4) Show how both Athens and Sparta had allied themselves with the arch-enemy of Greece.

B. On the Peloponnesian War. *D. R.*, I: pp. 218–234, several incidents and features of the war; the attempt of the Thebans, who were allies of the Spartans, to surprise Plataea, the first open hostility (the "Pylos Affair" belongs to the "Ten Years' War," the expedition to Sicily, mentioned on p. 222, being a minor one, not in connection with the later enormous enterprise); pp. 231 ff., the fate of the Athenian prisoners at Syracuse. *B. S.:* pp. 211 ff., an instructive chapter on the two contending powers; p. 213, the brutality shown by the Athenians to recalcitrant cities; pp. 223 ff., characteristic points of the life of Alcibiades. Times after the Peloponnesian War. *D. R.*, I: pp. 272 ff., the "Thirty Tyrants"; pp. 276 ff., traits of Epaminondas. *B. S.:* pp. 247 ff., expulsion of the "Thirty Tyrants" by Thrasybulus; p. 266, passages from the speeches of the great orator Demosthenes delivered against Philip; pp. 270 ff., Philip's character, methods, and successes. (On Demosthenes' youth, his unsuccessful attempt at public speaking, etc., see *D. R.*, pp. 286 ff.) *B. S.*, pp. 286 ff., the battle of Chaeronea.

Chapter XV. A. (1) Which of Alexander's wars were not against Persia? (2) State the difference between the Hellenic and the Hellen-

istic Age as to time, geographical extent, arts practiced, political liberty, morality. (3) Why was Alexander's early death a calamity?

B. *D. R.*, I: pp. 298–304, Alexander's youth, education, etc.; p. 307, the founding of Alexandria; pp. 308–314, the battle of Arbela; pp. 320, 321, Alexander's character; pp. 325–329 the city of Alexandria, its buildings, streets, harbors, etc. *B. S.:* pp. 276, 277, the battle at Issus and Alexander's behavior towards Darius's family; pp. 277 ff., the sack of Persepolis; pp. 306–308, knowledge of the shape of the earth.

Chapter XVII. A. (1) Compare the origin and the powers of the three Roman assemblies. (2) Why was the power of the tribunes of the plebs in a way the highest? (3) In what ways were the poorer plebeians, who could not themselves become public officers, benefited by the constitutional changes?

B. *B. S.:* pp. 326 ff., a description of the soil and the peoples of Italy; pp. 334 ff., the legends concerning Romulus and Numa; p. 376, early Etruscan painting; p. 337, a father's power; pp. 345 ff., the erection of the temple of Jupiter; pp. 351 ff., some of the "Laws of the Twelve Tables." *D. R.*, II: p. 7, the religious ceremony of declaring war; pp. 19 ff., the "Secession of the Plebs" to the Sacred Mount; pp. 23 ff., how the plebeians won the consulship; pp. 11 ff., the Vestals and their privileges. *H. T. F.*, "Vestal Virgins."

Chapter XVIII. A. (1) Who was in your opinion the most dangerous enemy of Rome? Why? (2) Show how the Romans everywhere applied the principle of "Divide your opponents and you will rule them." (3) Show how the Roman respected home rule. (4) Why was the change mentioned in § 221 *b* very important? (5) Which class would have benefited if the Romans had had a representative government?

B. *B. S.:* pp. 362 ff., the siege and sack of Rome by the Gauls; pp. 365 ff., Pyrrhus, his aims, his first battle with the Romans, his envoy Cineas and the blind Appius Claudius; p. 374, the Roman army at this time; p. 375, the earliest Roman coins. *D. R.*, II: pp. 39 ff., Fabricius as Roman envoy to Pyrrhus; pp. 48 ff., Roman honesty at the best period, Roman state funerals and their influence.

Chapter XIX. A. (1) Which of the two powers had, in your opinion, the greater prospect of success? Why? (2) Discuss the several occasions on which the Romans admirably showed their tenacity of purpose. (Compare with the Pyrrhic war.) (3) On what occasions did they grossly violate justice? (4) Whom do you admire more, Publius Cornelius Scipio or Hannibal? Why? (5) How did Hannibal try to sow enmity among the Italians?

B. *D. R.*, II: p. 54, the story of the consul Regulus (generally not credited by historians); pp. 56–80, Hannibal's youth, the declaration of war, his crossing the Alps, the war in Sicily, the battle at Zama; p. 82, how Cato helped to bring on the Third Punic War. *B. S.:* pp. 380 ff., Hamilcar Barca, the battle of Lake Trasimene.

Chapter XX. A. (1) Summarize the Macedonian Wars. (2) How did the Greeks fare during this period of wars? (3) Summarize the activities of Rome in Asia. (4) Was it a benefit to the conquered nations to become subject to Rome?

B. *B. S.:* pp. 389 ff., the decline of the Greek cities, which helped to make the Roman victory easy; pp. 392–395, how the war against the Achaean League was started, and how it ended. *D. R.*, II: pp. 86–90, how Polybius, the historian, and Scipio, later on the destroyer of Carthage, became friends (with allusions to the Macedonian Wars). (Both books have a number of interesting traits of the life and character of Porcius Cato.)

Chapter XXI. A. This chapter lends itself more to reading, discussion, and reproduction in class, according to the time which can be devoted upon it. The student should take care, however, to have a clear idea of such terms as tax farming, knights, *latifundia*, province, governor.

B. *D. R.*, II: pp. 119–125, the riches of Lucullus; pp. 127 ff., the wealth and habits of Crassus; pp. 90 ff., slaves and their treatment; pp. 103 ff., the growth of the estates of the rich.

Chapter XXII. A. (1) Review the history of the second Licinian Law (§§ 209, 259). (2) Were the common people better off after the death of the Gracchi than before? Whose fault was it? (3) Do you think that Marius ever gave any thought to remedying the economic evils of Rome? Give reasons. (4) What similarity is there between the views of Cato and those of Sulla? In what did they differ? (5) What was the difference between the "Marian massacres" and those carried out by Sulla? (6) Which party suffered more by them, the rich or the poor? (7) Has Pompey any economic measures to his credit, or any measures in favor of the people? (8) Indicate briefly the steps by which Caesar rose to power (§§ 288 ff.). (9) Was Caesar right in crossing the Rubicon? (10) Summarize the activity of Roman generals in the East as far as treated in this chapter. (The exercises *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e* may be considered in connection with this important chapter.)

B. *B. S.*, p. 417, the endeavors of Tiberius Gracchus. *D. R.*, II, pp. 105 ff., the murder of Tiberius. *B. S.*, p. 421, the enormous activity of Caius Gracchus. *D. R.*, II: pp. 109 ff., how Jugurtha bribed the

Roman senators, etc.; pp. 111 ff., Marius overthrows the Teutones. *B. S.*, pp. 425 ff., Marius' flight from Rome. *D. R.*, II: pp. 115 ff., the reign of terror under Sulla; p. 118, the power of Mithridates. *B. S.*: pp. 433 ff., Pompey's war against Sertorius, the rebel slaves, the pirates. *D. R.*, pp. 123 ff., his war against Mithridates. *B. S.*, pp. 437 ff., Cicero quells the Catilinian conspiracy; pp. 442 ff., Caesar's wars in Gaul. *D. R.*, II, pp. 149 ff., the crossing of the Rubicon. Ecker's *Bible Lessons*, pp. 173 ff., the Jews under the Syrian kings, and the rising of the Maccabees (the note on p. 180 explains the interference of Pompey, and the accession of Herod).

Chapter XXIII. A. (1) Compare Caesar's reform laws with those of the Gracchi. (2) What calamities would a longer life of Caesar in all probability have averted from Rome? (3) Is it likely that Caesar would have ruled as well as Augustus did? (4) By what successive steps did Octavius rise to the supreme power? (5) Give the principal facts of the life of Mark Anthony.

B. *D. R.*: pp. 150 ff. (and *B. S.*, pp. 450 ff.) on Caesar's reform laws (different selections); pp. 154 ff., Caesar's funeral, the oration of Anthony and its effect on the masses; pp. 159 ff., personal traits of Caesar. *B. S.*, pp. 454 ff., Octavius' earlier years, the battle of Actium. *D. R.*, II: pp. 166 ff., the "Deeds of Augustus," as described in the famous Monument of Ancyra; p. 177, Augustus' magnanimity; pp. 179 ff., a description of Rome at this time. *B. S.*, pp. 472 ff., city improvements by Augustus.

Chapter XXIV. A. (1) Why was the mission of the Jewish nation at an end when the Church of Christ had been founded (§§ 1, 56, 65, 309)? (2) In what ways is Jesus Christ said to be the "Son of David," and to rule over a kingdom that has no end?

B. Any chapter from Ecker's *Bible Lessons* after p. 185, especially the following: p. 187, the birth of Jesus; p. 214, the choosing of the apostles; p. 231, the promise of Bread from Heaven; p. 235, the promise of the primacy to St. Peter; pp. 291 ff., the history of the Passion; p. 313, Jesus appears on Lake Genesareth; pp. 316 ff., the descent of the Holy Ghost; pp. 332 ff., St. Peter in prison.

Chapter XXV. A. (1) Which of the emperors mentioned in this chapter waged wars? Against whom? With what success? (2) What calamities are reported to have befallen the Empire? (3) How often was Jerusalem destroyed? By whom (§ 64)? (4) What changes had taken place in the Roman army (§§ 200, 224, 225)? (5) Compare the government of the provinces under the Republic (§ 265) with that under the Empire. (6) Indicate the causes which served to increase commerce.

B. *B. S.*: pp. 475 ff., selections on Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Vespasian; pp. 488 ff., the eruption of Vesuvius. Davis, *A Day in Old Rome:* p. 304, the city police; pp. 307 ff., the Roman army; pp. 207 ff., books and libraries; p. 453, a country seat. Other subjects may be selected from the table of contents of this instructive and interesting book. *D. R.*, pp. 260 ff., wall inscriptions from Pompeii ("ads," election notices, etc.).

Chapter XXVII. A. (1) Which great men had contributed, during the course of ancient history, to bring about the conditions mentioned in § 355? (2) Why was the arrival of St. Peter the greatest event in Rome's history? (3) Show from §§ 342–346 that the Christians were obliged to lead a life very different from that of the pagans. (4) What feature of their life, in your opinion, did the pagans admire most of all? (5) Why did the pagans in the beginning identify the Christians with the Jews?

B. Ecker's *Bible Lessons:* pp. 327 ff., the conversion of St. Paul; pp. 323 ff., St. Stephen the first martyr; pp. 334 ff., the journeys of St. Paul; pp. 352 ff., admonitions from the Epistles of St. Paul. *H. T. F.*, "Martyrs." *D. R.*, II: p. 286, Nero's persecution; p. 288, the martyrdom of Perpetua; p. 289, the persecutions of Decius and Diocletian. *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 26 ff., Christianity and the Roman Empire.

Chapter XXVIII. A. (1) Find similarity and dissimilarity between the administration of the Persian Empire (§ 69) and that introduced by Diocletian. (2) Point out the difference between Augustus (§ 306) and Diocletian. (3) How did Constantine the Great gradually rise to the position of sole emperor?

B. *B. S.*, pp. 527 ff., the changes under Diocletian. *D. R.*, II: pp. 300 ff., register of imperial dignitaries; pp. 291 ff., Constantine and Maxentius. *B. S.*: p. 534, the Edict of Milan. *D. R.*, pp. 295 ff., the founding of Constantinople. *H. T. F.*, the "Milan Decree." *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 36 ff., the triumph of Christianity. *O. S. M.*, pp. 78 ff., St. Leo the Great on the Primacy of St. Peter. (See also *H. T. F.*, p. 117 (6).)

Chapter XXIX. §§ 382–392. A. (1) Compare §§ 331 and 386; 339, 340, and 387; 258, 259, 334, 385; 333, 337, 386. (2) Which people seems to you to have been the more civilized, the Teutons or the Irish? Why? (3) Find where in this book Teutons are mentioned, and in what connection. (4) Show on what occasions the Celts have been mentioned.

B. *B. S.*: p. 539, oppression in the Empire; p. 540, depopulation; p. 542, decay of morality; p. 544, the Germans and their country;

pp. 545 ff., their government; p. 552, their food and drink. *O. S. M.*, p. 42 ff., descriptions of the Huns. (Ogg's "Introductions," though very instructive, are not correct in every detail.) *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 97 ff., Ireland, its apostle, its influence on Europe.

§§ 393–410. A. (1) In which Roman countries did Teutonic tribes settle? (2) Explain in particular three losses to civilization. (3) Mention three institutions that helped to save civilization. (4) What did monasticism do for civilization?

B. *O. S. M.*: pp. 32 ff., the admission of the West Goths into the Empire; pp. 90 ff., St. Gregory the Great on the duties of pastors; pp. 83 ff., the Rule of St. Benedict. Shahan, *The Middle Ages:* pp. 9 ff., Gregory the Great and the Barbarian world; pp. 35 ff., Justinian the Great.

§§ 411–418. A. (1) What good things can you say of the Eastern Empire? (2) What Teutonic nations which had settled on Roman soil were Arians? (3) Give a summary of Justinian the Great's achievements.

B. *Guggenberger*, I: p. 78, on the causes of the fall of the Roman Empire; pp. 57 ff., St. Hermenegild and the conversion of the West Goths; p. 60, the invasions of the Huns into Gaul and Italy. *O. S. M.*, p. 47 ff., the deeds of Clovis.

Chapter XXX. A. (1) What tenets do you find in § 420 that will help to account for the rapid success of the Mohammedan arms? (2) Pick out some points of the Mohammedan "creed" that are correct, and others that are utterly false. (3) Compare the extent of the Mohammedan world with that of the ancient Roman Empire. (4) State the opponent parties in the battles mentioned at the end of § 422.

B. *D. R.*, II: pp. 362 ff., an account of the battle of Tours; p. 365, the brilliancy of the city of Bagdad. Shahan, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 113 ff., Mohammedan religion. *H. T. F.*, "Persia," "Era" No. 6.

Chapter XXXI. A. (1) Review the facts which had led to the formation of the little territory around Rome and Ravenna (§ 413). (2) Compare the dignity of Emperor Charlemagne with that of Constantine the Great. (3) How did Charlemagne utilize the means of the Church for the promotion of education? (4) Compare Charlemagne's government with that of the Persians (§ 69).

B. *D. R.*, II, pp. 367 ff., Gregory the Great and the Lombards. *O. S. M.*: pp. 108 ff., personal traits of Charlemagne; pp. 114 ff., on the Saxon wars; p. 124, the administration of Charlemagne's estates; pp. 130 ff., Charlemagne the Emperor. *Guggenberger*, I, p. 154, short character sketch of Charlemagne.

Chapter XXXII. A. (1) Can you name two causes which led to the weakening of Christian Europe under the later Carolingians? (2) In what way did the importance of the emperors suffer? (3) Which establishments of the Northmen were new independent states? Which of them were republics and which were monarchies? (4) Show in what succession the several Slav races were converted. (5) Why did the Anglo-Saxons in the beginning establish small states? (6) In what way did Christianity promote civilization in England?

B. *Guggenberger*, I: pp. 155–167, a more detailed representation of the troubles under the later Carolingians; pp. 172–179, on the character, invasions, and settlements of the Northmen. *O. S. M.*: pp. 163–173, the devastations by the Northmen; pp. 177 ff., the election of Hugh Capet; pp. 181 ff., the Danes' invasions in England, Alfred the Great.

Chapters XXXIII and XXXIV. B. *O. S. M.*: pp. 214 ff., documents transferring fiefs to vassals; pp. 216 ff., the various duties of the vassal; p. 229, the Truce of God. *H. T. F.*, "Nobility," p. 103. *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 405 ff., advantages and disadvantages of feudalism. Charming descriptions of knightly life in Sir John Froissart's *Chronicles* (see book list) and Joinville's *Memoir of St. Louis* (see §§ 487 and 546). Historical fiction upon the feudal period is especially valuable; Scott's novels must not be overlooked (particularly *Ivanhoe*), though they give a false glamor to the age. Other excellent portraits are given in Stevenson's *Black Arrow*. The students will no doubt find incidents illustrating various paragraphs of these chapters in their other reading.

Chapter XXXV. B. Shahan, *The Middle Ages*, pp. 134 ff., Catholicism in the Middle Ages. *O. S. M.*: pp. 245 ff., the foundation of Cluny; pp. 250 ff., the founding of Clairvaux, earlier life of St. Bernard, description of Clairvaux. *H. T. F.*: p. 108, "Papal Documents"; p. 27, "Canon"; p. 66, "Fisherman's Ring"; p. 110, "Patriarchs," "Saints" (beatification and canonization); p. 145, "Tithes." *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 311 ff., new religious orders.

Chapter XXXVI. A. (1) Which do you think were the three greatest events in the history of England between the end of the Roman Empire and the coming of William the Conqueror? (2) What alterations of English courts of justice had taken place during this period (§§ 519, 520, 529, 531)? (3) Through what changes did the English parliament go (§§ 511, 533, 534)? (4) What was the difference between the "King's Court" and Parliament? (5) What was the difference, as to result, between the English attempts to conquer Scotland and to

conquer Ireland? Can you find the reason in the conditions of each of the two countries?

B. *O. S. M.*: pp. 233 ff., the battle of Hastings and the succession and influence of the Norman kings; pp. 241 ff., William the Conqueror as man and as king; pp. 297 ff., the winning of the Charter and extracts from it. *Guggenberger*, I: pp. 358 ff., the reign of John Lackland; pp. 335 ff., Henry II in Ireland.

Chapter XXXVII. A. (1) Summarize in three sentences the increase of direct power of the Capetian kings over the territory of West Frankland. (2) Show how the weakening of the royal power under the last Carolingians (§ 448) had reacted on the kingdom of Hugh Capet. (3) In what way did the bishops help to unify both England (§ 462) and France (§ 541)?

B. *Guggenberger*, I: pp. 229 ff., conditions under the first Capetians; p. 308, France under Louis VI; pp. 365 ff., the Albigensian Wars; p. 384, the character of St. Louis IX. *O. S. M.*, pp. 311 ff., details of the life of St. Louis IX.

Chapter XXXVIII. A. (1) What similarity existed between the original condition in Germany and in France (§§ 540, 547)? (2) In what way did Henry I and Otto I promote the interests of Christianity? (3) Show how in two instances the application of Justinian Law promoted the absolute power of princes (§§ 412, 541, 558). (4) What facts did you learn in this chapter about the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies? (5) Write a short summary of the quarrels of the two Fredericks with the Pope.

B. *Guggenberger*, I: pp. 204 ff., on the Saxon and Salian kings and emperors; pp. 315 ff., Frederick Barbarossa; pp. 373 ff., Frederick II's "crusade." *O. S. M.*, pp. 330 ff., the expansion of the eastern boundary of Germany. *H. T. F.*, "Caesaropapism," p. 21; "Union of Church and State," p. 147. *O. S. M.*: pp. 398 ff., the Peace of Constance (Venice); p. 402, what was thought of Emperor Frederick II.

Chapter XXXIX. A. (1) Which "reform popes" are mentioned and what particular measures are reported of them? (2) Which emperors and kings were in opposition to the popes in the contest of lay investiture? (3) Can you show the connection between lay investiture and simony? (4) In what points are the mendicant orders similar to the Congregation of Cluny (§§ 501, 576, 583)?

B. *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 248 ff., the evils in the Church and the efforts of the popes to remedy them. *O. S. M.*: pp. 261 ff., Gregory VII and Henry IV, several documents concluding with the Concordat of Worms; pp. 360 ff., St. Francis of Assisi (there are some incorrect ideas in the

introduction). *Guggenberger*, I, pp. 400 ff., the friars and their influence on the universities. *H. T. F.*: "Concordats," p. 36; "Right of Exclusion," p. 65.

Chapter XL. A. (1) In what places were the crusaders likely to find a civilization different from their own? (2) What difficulties were the crusaders obliged to overcome? (3) Enumerate the kings who went on crusades. (4) Which new religious orders had been established (§§ 501, 583–585, 591, 600)? (5) How were non-Christian countries benefited by the spirit of the crusades (§§ 597, 600)?

B. *Guggenberger*, I: pp. 287 ff., the Orient; pp. 296 ff., causes of the crusades; pp. 300 ff., the first crusade; pp. 312 ff., second crusade; pp. 341 ff., third crusade; pp. 348 ff., fourth crusade; pp. 373 ff., fifth crusade; pp. 384 ff., crusades of St. Louis IX. *O. S. M.*: pp. 282 ff., the address of Urban II and the beginning of the crusades; pp. 291 ff., a crusader's letter to his wife; pp. 314–321, St. Louis' crusades.

Chapter XLI. A. (1) What differences can you find between the medieval cities and the cities of our own time? (2) What are the chief differences between the medieval craft gilds and the "unions" of today? (3) Explain the origin of the cities according to §§ 402, 509, 549, 557, 559, 611, 612. (4) Show how all the gilds contributed to the relief of poverty.

B. *O. S. M.*, pp. 325 ff., municipal charters, and quotations from the constitution of the Rhenish League. *Guggenberger*, II, pp. 140 ff., the gilds and gild life. Zimmern, *The Hansa Towns*.

Chapter XLII. B. *O. S. M.*: pp. 340 ff., privileges granted to students and masters; pp. 345 ff., foundation of the University of Heidelberg; pp. 445 ff., Dante's defense of Italian as a literary language. Walsh, *The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries*: pp. 18 ff., the universities and preparatory schools; pp. 33 ff., the studies and methods of study in the universities. *H. T. F.* under "Architecture," pp. 2 ff. Betten, *A-B-C of the History of Church Architecture*.

Chapter XLIII. A. (1) Compare the Wat Tyler Insurrection with the Jacquerie. (2) Summarize the Hundred Years' War, omitting the intervening events in England. (3) Write a brief summary of the growth of parliamentary powers (§ 636). (4) How did royal absolutism grow in France (§§ 544, 545, 641)? (5) How did the English look upon the native Irish? upon the English born in Ireland? (6) Which names of Irish chiefs are mentioned in this book? for what actions?

B. *O. S. M.*: pp. 418 ff., the beginning of the Hundred Years' War; pp. 427 ff., the battle of Crécy; pp. 439 ff., the treaty of Brétigny. *Guggenberger*, II: pp. 41 ff., the Hundred Years' War; pp. 68 ff., the

Wars of the Roses; pp. 42, 54, on Ireland. Joyce's *Short History of Ireland*, which groups historical facts chiefly around great personalities and outstanding events, should also be consulted.

Chapter XLIV. A. (1) Which were the most prominent German rulers of this period? (2) In what ways does Bohemia figure in this part of German history? (3) Name the parties in the battles of Legnano, Crécy, and Poitiers (§§ 559, 630, 639), and state which party was victorious. (4) Show from §§ 650 and 656 how the family possessions of the House of Hapsburg increased. (5) Which of the members of the House of Hapsburg are here mentioned as emperors?

B. *Guggenberger:* I, pp. 411 ff., the Interregnum and Rudolph of Hapsburg; II, pp. 84 ff., Switzerland and Burgundy. *O. S. M.*, pp. 409 ff., the Golden Bull of Charles IV. Schirp, *Short History of Germany*, pp. 95–104, the time from Rudolph to Maximilian.

Chapter XLV. B. *Guggenberger:* I, pp. 370 ff., the Spanish crusades; II, pp. 90 ff., the union of Castile and Aragon, and the conquest of Granada; pp 78 ff., the rise of the Turks and the defense of Europe.

Chapter XLVI. A. (1) What was the difference between the Universal and the Spanish Inquisition as to place? as to appointment of members? (2) What was the difference between the procedure of the Inquisition and that of the feudal courts (§ 400)? (3) Can you find reasons why the Church did not break up into several "Churches" during the time of the Great Western Schism?

B. Kurth, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*, pp. 103 ff. (old edition pp. 94 ff.), Boniface VIII and Philip IV. *Guggenberger*, II: pp. 1–8, 15, 17, 18, the period of Avignon; pp. 19–22, 25–34, the Western Schism; pp. 34 ff., the Hussite Wars. *H. T. F.*, "Inquisition," pp. 89 ff.; "Caesaropapism," p. 21; "Councils," pp. 42 ff.

Chapter XLVII. A. (1) Summarize the peculiar features of the Renaissance as regards language and the arts. (2) Compare the Renaissance painting with what is said of Egyptian painting in § 22. (3) Can you see a connection between § 600 and § 683? (4) Compare § 187 with § 684.

B. *O. S. M.*, pp. 462 ff., Petrarch and the classics. Kurth, *The Church at the Turning Points of History*, pp. 123 ff., the attitude of the Church toward the Renaissance. *Guggenberger*, II, pp. 129 ff., the Renaissance of literature. *H. T. F.*, "Copernicus," pp. 36 ff.; "Galileo," pp. 66 ff.; "Dark Ages," pp. 51 ff.; "Architecture," No. 8, p. 9. Walsh, *The Century of Columbus.*

BOOK LIST

Modern Catholic books are marked with *. Modern books not thus marked are recommended for their good treatment of some political or economic subject, though they are not always reliable on religious topics.

EXERCISE REFERENCES

The suggestions made for exercises are chiefly to the following books. There should be several copies of these books in the library.

* **Betten, Francis S., S.J.,** *Historical Terms and Facts.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston. This book, arranged alphabetically, is designed to give information on and explanation of such points as can only be touched upon in textbooks, though more copious elucidation would be desirable. (Abbreviated *H. T. F.*)

Botsford, George Willis, and **Lillie Shaw Botsford,** *A Source Book of Ancient History.* Macmillan Co., N. Y. Has sets of questions on the sources. (Abbreviated *B. S.*)

Davis, William Stearns, *Readings in Ancient History.* 2 volumes. I, "Greece and the East"; II, "Rome and the West." Allyn and Bacon. (Abbreviated *D. R.*)

* **Ecker, James,** *Bible Lessons.* See below.

* **Guggenberger, Anthony, S.J.,** *History of the Christian Era.* 3 volumes: From Christ to 1300 A.D.; 1300–1700 A.D.; 1700 and thereafter. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Volumes I and II are referred to. (Abbreviated *Guggenberger.*)

Ogg, Frederic Austin, *A Source Book of Medieval History.* American Book Co., N. Y. The introductions to the lengthy selections are especially valuable, though several of them are not without inaccuracies. (Abbreviated *O. S. M.*)

THE BIBLE

Copies of the *entire Bible* (Catholic or so-called Douay Edition) are for sale at low price (B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, or Benziger Brothers, N. Y.).

The New Testament.

* **Ecker, James,** *Bible Lessons.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. This book was formerly known as *The Catholic School Bible.* Though intended for elementary schools it fully deserves a place in a high school library on account of the copious information which its many pictures, maps, remarks, and explanatory chapters are calculated to impart.

* **Graham, Henry G.,** *Where We Got the Bible.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Popular lectures, showing in an entertaining manner how the Bible was preserved during the centuries which preceded the art of printing.

* **Messmer, S. G., Archbishop,** *Outlines of Bible Knowledge.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Seventy illustrations and several maps. An excellent reference book for the libraries of high schools and colleges.

FIRST TIMES OF MANKIND

* *Lectures on the History of Religions.* (Catholic Truth Society Publications.) B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 5 volumes. Volumes I and II are especially useful.

* **Devas, Charles Stanton,** *Key to the World's Progress.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Dwight, Thomas,** *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

* **Frank, Carl, S.J.,** *The Theory of Evolution in the Light of Facts.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Houck, Frederic,** *Our Palace Beautiful, or: Man's Place in the Visible Creation.* D. P. Hansen and Sons, Chicago.

* **Hull, Ernest, S.J.,** *Archaic Religions.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

Joly, N. *Man before Metal.* D. Appleton and Co., N. Y.

* **Muntsch, Albert, S.J.,** *Evolution and Culture.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

Starr, F., *Some First Steps in Human Progress.* Flood and Vincent, Meadville, Pennsylvania.

THE ORIENT

Baikie, James, *Story of the Pharaohs.* Macmillan Co., N. Y.

Carter, Howard, and **A. C. Mace,** *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-amen.* George H. Doran Co., N. Y. With 104 illustrations. Written by two of the discoverers.

* **Gigot, Francis E.,** *Outlines of Jewish History from Abraham to Our Lord.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

Jackson, A. V. W., *Zoroaster.* Macmillan Co., N. Y.

Sayce, A. H., *Assyria, Its Princes, Priests, and People.* Fleming H. Revell Co., Chicago.

CRETE

Baikie, James, *Sea Kings of Crete.* Macmillan Co., N. Y. Illustrated.

Glasgow, George, *The Minoans.* J. Cape, London. A brief description of the people of Crete, their weapons and tools, their architecture, pottery, etc.

Hawes and **Hawes,** *Crete the Forerunner of Greece.* Harper and Brothers, N. Y.

GREECE

Bury, J. B., *History of Greece to the Death of Alexander.* Macmillan Co., N. Y.

Casson, Stanley, *Ancient Greece.* Oxford University Press, London. An essay on the history of Greece, very useful to all those who peruse it with some previous knowledge of Greek history.

Coleridge, Edward P., *Res Graecae* (Things Greek). Bell and Sons, London. "Brief aids to the history, geography, literature, and antiquities of ancient Greece, with maps and plans."

Cox, G. W., *The Athenian Empire.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Cox, G. W., *Greeks and Persians.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Davis, William Stearns, *A Day in Old Athens.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston. An exhaustive description, in plain modern English, of all aspects of Athens and Athenian life — its physical setting, political institutions, schoolboys, soldiers and sailors, physicians, slaves, gods, bankers, etc.

Gulick, Charles B., *Life of the Ancient Greeks.* D. Appleton and Co., N. Y.

Lunn, Sir Henry (editor), *Aegean Civilization.* Ernest Benn, London. Lectures on localities around the Aegean Sea, often entering deeply into the narration or discussion of the events that made them famous.

Mahaffy, J. P., *Alexander's Empire.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.

Mahaffy, J. P., *Old Greek Life* (primer). American Book Co., N. Y.

McCartney, Eugene S., *Warfare by Land and Sea.* Marshall Jones Co., Boston. Referring entirely to the warfare of the ancient nations.

Source Material

Davis, William Stearns, *Readings.* (See the beginning of the book list.)

Herodotus, Rawlinson's translation. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y. 2 volumes.

Homer, *Iliad.* Translated by Lord Derby. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Homer, *Odyssey.* Translated by Cowper. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Plutarch, *Lives.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y. 3 volumes. The full title is "Parallel Lives," because the author always takes one Greek and one Roman character together.

ROMAN HISTORY

Beesly, A. H., *The Gracchi.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Davis, William Stearns, *A Day in Old Rome.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston. An exhaustive description, in plain modern English, of all aspects of ancient Rome: its general character, streets, tenement houses, palaces, temples, libraries, school boys, soldiers and their barracks, grain trade, courts, etc.

Fowler, Warde, *Caesar.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.

How and **Leigh,** *History of Rome to the Death of Caesar.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Ihne, William, *Early Rome.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Matheson, P. E., *The Growth of Rome.* Oxford University Press, N. Y. Rather an essay on Roman history, very useful to such as bring to its reading some previous knowledge of the facts.

Morrison, W. D., *The Jews under Roman Rule.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.

Platner, Samuel B., *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome.* Allyn and Bacon, Boston. A lucidly written book. Very useful.

Smith, R. B., *Rome and Carthage.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

Source Material

Botsford, George Willis, and **Lillie Shaw Botsford,** *Source Book.* See beginning of book list.

Davis, William Stearns, *Readings.* See beginning of book list.

Munro, D. C., *Source Book of Roman History.* D. C. Heath and Co., N. Y.

Tacitus, *Historical Works.* Vol. I, *Annals;* Vol. II, *Germania and Agricola.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

EARLY CHRISTIANITY

The New Testament.

* **Barnes, Arthur S.,** *The Early Church in the Light of the Monuments.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y. Chiefly on the Catacombs.

* **Fouard, Constantine,** *The Christ, the Son of God.* 2 volumes. Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y.

* **Fouard, Constantine,** *St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y. The works by Fouard have copious descriptions of the religious, political, and moral conditions of the Jews and Romans, which alone would justify the outlay.

* **Gigot, F. E.,** *Outlines of New Testament History.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

* **Shahan, Rt. Rev. Thomas,** *The Beginnings of Christianity.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y. Essays.

* **Wiseman, Cardinal Nicholas,** *Fabiola, or: The Church of the Catacombs.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

* *The Grip-Fast History Books.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y. Five little volumes on English history, destined for elementary schools, but recommendable for high schools as well on account of the many hints they contain for teaching and learning.

* **Allies, T. W.,** *Monastic Life from the Fathers of the Desert to Charlemagne.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

* **Betten, Francis S., S.J.,** *A-B-C of the History of Church Architecture.* Bruce Publishing Company, Milwaukee.

* **Brou, Alexander, S.J.,** *Life of St. Augustine of Canterbury.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Buxton, E. Wilmot,** *Hildebrand.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y. The story of Pope St. Gregory VII.

* **Cannon, Mary Agnes,** *The Education of Women during the Renaissance.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Conway, Bertrand, O.P.,** *Studies in Church History.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Drane, Mother Theodosia,** *Christian Schools and Scholars.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. New edition by Walter Grumbley, O. P.

* **Gasquet, Cardinal Francis A.,** *The Eve of the Reformation.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Studies in the religious life and thought of the English people in the fifteenth century.

* **Gasquet, Cardinal Francis A.,** *Parish Life in Medieval England.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

* **Heins, M. Alice,** *The Story of St. Francis of Assisi.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Huddleston, Roger, O.S.B.,** *The Little Flowers of St. Francis of Assisi.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Janssen, John,** *History of the German People after the Close of the Middle Ages.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 16 volumes. The bulk of this excellent work belongs to the next period of history. But Volumes I and II describe the intellectual, economic, and social conditions of the fifteenth century. They are full of valuable information concerning the gilds and other medieval institutions.

* **Kurth, Godefroid,** *The Church at the Turning Points of History.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Lectures on the Church and Judaism, the Church and the Barbarians, the Church and Feudalism, etc.

* **Kurth, Godefroid,** *St. Clotilda.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Leibell, Sister Helen Dominica,** *Anglo-Saxon Education of Women, from Hilda to Hildegarde.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Lynch, D., S.J.,** *The Life Story of the Maid of Orleans.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

Polo, Marco, *Travels.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y. Marco Polo spent seventeen years in China. This work describes his experiences, and also the countries and seas through which he traveled (about 1300 A.D.).

* **Rampolla, Cardinal H. E.,** *St. Melania.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y. The life of St. Melania, "the richest woman that ever lived."

* **Riguet, A.,** *Life of St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

Seignobos, C., *The Feudal Régime.* Henry Holt and Co., N. Y.

* **Shahan, Rt. Rev. Thomas,** *The Middle Ages.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. A collection of good essays on various topics.

Thurston, Herbert, S. J., *No Popery.* Chapters on anti-papal prejudice. Longmans, Green and Co.

* **Todière, L.,** *The Last Caesars of Byzantium.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Walsh, James J.,** *The Century of Columbus (1450–1550).* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Walsh, James J.,** *The Thirteenth the Greatest of Centuries.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Weber, Nicholas A.,** *A General History of the Christian Era.* Vol. I. Catholic Education Press, Washington, D. C.

Willibald, *Life of St. Boniface.* Translated into English by George W. Robinson. Harvard University Press. Written (in Latin) a few years after the saint's death by one of his companions.

Source Material

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, translated by James Ingram. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Chronicles of the Crusades. Bohn Library, London. Contains, among other accounts, Joinville's *Memoirs of St. Louis.*

Bede the Venerable, Saint, *Ecclesiastical History of England.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Botsford, George Willis, and **Lillie Shaw Botsford,** *Source Book.* See beginning of book list.

Davis, William Stearns, *Readings.* See beginning of book list.

Eginhard (Einhard), *Life of Charlemagne.* American Book Co., N. Y. Eginhard was Charlemagne's secretary and personal friend.

Froissart, Sir John, *Chronicles of England, France, and Spain.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Joinville, Sir John de, *Memoirs of St. Louis.* A record of the life and deeds of St. Louis IX, especially of his two crusades. For editions see below.

Ogg, Frederic Austin, *Source Book.* See beginning of book list.

Robinson, James H., *Readings in European History.* Vol. I, Medieval History. Ginn and Co., Boston. In ecclesiastical matters the very selection of the documents more than once leaves a one-sided impression. But among other good things the book gives a welcome introduction to the literature of the sources of medieval history.

Ville-Hardouin and **Joinville,** *Memoirs of the Crusades.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y. Ville-Hardouin chronicles the fourth crusade.

On Some Particular Countries

* *Introduction to the History of France.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

* **D'Alton, Canon E. A.,** *History of Ireland.* 3 volumes bound in 6. Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

Gardiner, S. R., *Student's History of England.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y. 3 volumes bound in one.

* **Joyce, P. W.,** *An Illustrated History of Ireland.* Longmans, Green and Co., N. Y. With 160 illustrations.

* **Schirp, Francis M.,** *A Short History of Germany.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Stone, J. M.,** *The Church in English History.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

* **Wyatt-Davis, E.,** *History of England.* Benziger Brothers, N. Y.

Zimmern, H., *The Hansa Towns.* G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y.

Histories of the Popes

* **Grisar, Hartmann, S.J.,** *History of Rome and the Popes in the Early Middle Ages.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. 3 volumes.

* **Mann, Rt. Rev. Horace K.,** *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. In course of publication. So far 13 volumes have appeared.

* **Pastor, Ludwig von,** *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. In course of publication. So far 14 volumes have appeared in English.

These three monumental works in a way belong together. Grisar's volumes (richly illustrated) go from 390 A.D. to 590. Those of Monsignor Mann are intended to cover the time from 590 to 1415. At 1415 the work of Pastor sets in. The 17 volumes of Mann actually go as far as 1294; the twenty of Pastor have now reached the year 1585. — These books are indeed not fit to be used directly by the students. But the teacher will find material in them which can be read to the class or be made the subject of class reports.

GENERAL REFERENCE WORKS

* *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 19 Union Square, New York. 16 volumes. It is an international work of reference on the constitution, doctrine, discipline, and history of the Catholic Church. Its numerous articles on subjects of history make it the foremost Catholic historical publication.

Dictionary of Dates. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

* **Addis** and **Arnold,** *A Catholic Dictionary.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. Gives information concerning the doctrine, discipline, rites, ceremonies, councils, and religious orders of the Church.

* **Krull, Virgilius, C.PP.S.,** *Christian Denominations.* Donahue and Co., Chicago. Chapter I contains much information concerning the first centuries of Christianity.

* **McGovern, James J.,** *Catholic Pocket Dictionary.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis.

Ploetz and **Tillinghast,** *Manual of Universal History.* Detailed chronological lists with condensed introductions and explanations, genealogical tables, etc. A very useful book. Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y.

Smith, Sir William, *Smaller Classical Dictionary.* (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y.

Atlases

Atlas of Ancient and Classical Geography. (Everyman's Library) E. P. Dutton and Co., N. Y. Covers a limited field satisfactorily.

Shepherd, William R., *Historical Atlas.* Henry Holt and Co., N. Y. An excellent work. Covers the entire history (has very good maps on American history) down to post-war times. Has an exhaustive alphabetical index.

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The index may be utilized for reviews upon "cross topics," or topics which call for an arrangement different from that of the text. Some of the subjects suited for this treatment are indicated in ***black italics.***

Numbers in heavy-faced type indicate illustrations.

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